HISORIES OF

SWEDES ON DELAWARE

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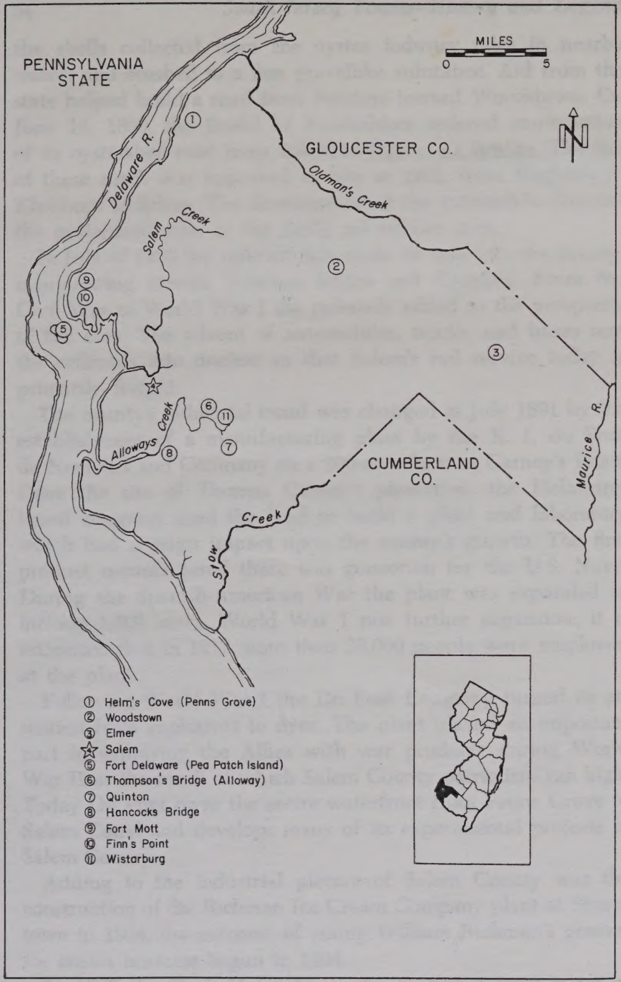
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SALEM COUNTY

SOUTH JERSEY

S. Jersey Towns
by Wm
McMASON

SALEM COUNTY

The first division of East and West Jersey into counties by the General Free Assembly was made on May 2–6, 1682. At that time the counties of Burlington and Salem were created.

Originally Salem County also included all of Gloucester, Cape May, and Cumberland counties. In 1686 Gloucester was formed to include what is now Atlantic County. Cape May County was established in 1692, Cumberland in 1748.

While Salem County was primarily a Quaker settlement, the Swedes were there before the Friends and met in log cabins for divine services. They were attached to the Lutheran congregation of New Castle, Delaware, and made frequent trips across the river to transact important church matters.

According to documents in the possession of the Salem County Historical Society, the first place of Quaker worship was at the home of Christopher White, on the north side of Alloways Creek near Hancock's Bridge, where meetings were held from 1685 to 1718. A deed dated 1681 shows that Samuel Nicholson and his wife Ann gave their home near the Salem Oak for the first meeting house in Salem. A building of logs at Churchtown erected on the site of the present Saint George Church is said to have been the first house of worship in the county other than Quaker meeting houses. Land for the church was given by John Jaquette in 1714; first services were in Swedish. A later church built at the same spot dates from 1811.

An example of early church architecture in Salem County is the United Methodist Church of Alloway, constructed in 1821 and remodeled in 1866. Church and grounds take in an entire block, and there is a beautiful memorial to the war dead of Salem.

The initial highways in Salem County were oystershell roads,

the shells collected from the oyster industry piles in nearby waters and crushed to a fine gravellike substance. Aid from the state helped build a road from Pointers toward Woodstown. On June 14, 1899, the Board of Freeholders ordered construction of an oystershell road from Salem to Hancock's Bridge. The last of these roads was approved as late as 1901, from Hogbin's in Elsinboro to Salem. The development of the automobile doomed the oystershell road as the shells cut rubber tires.

In July of 1863 the railroad first made its way into the county, inaugurating service between Salem and Camden. From the Civil War to World War I the railroads added to the prosperity of the area. The advent of automobiles, trucks, and buses sent the railroads into decline so that Salem's rail service today is primarily freight.

The county's industrial trend was changed in July 1891 by the establishment of a manufacturing plant by the E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company on a 200-acre farm at Carney's Point. Once the site of Thomas Carney's plantation, the Delaware-based company used the land to build a plant and laboratory which had a major impact upon the county's growth. The first product manufactured there was guncotton for the U.S. Navy. During the Spanish-American War the plant was expanded to include 1,500 acres. World War I saw further expansion; it is estimated that in 1917 more than 25,000 people were employed at the plant.

Following World War I the Du Pont Company turned its attention from explosives to dyes. The plant played an important part in supplying the Allies with war products during World War II as the result of which Salem County patriotism ran high. Today Du Pont owns the entire waterfront from Penns Grove to Salem Canal and develops many of its experimental projects in Salem County.

Adding to the industrial picture of Salem County was the construction of the Richman Ice Cream Company plant at Sharptown in 1904, the outcome of young William Richman's general ice cream business begun in 1894.

In 1905 the H. J. Heinz Company opened a large plant at

Salem. Mannington Mills purchased the American Oilcloth factory in 1914 and began making floor coverings.

The founding of Atlantic City as a seashore resort and the need for expanded electrical power not only there but elsewhere in South Jersey led to the building of the Deepwater Generating Plant of the Atlantic City Electric Company on a 365-acre site in Lower Penns Neck Township.

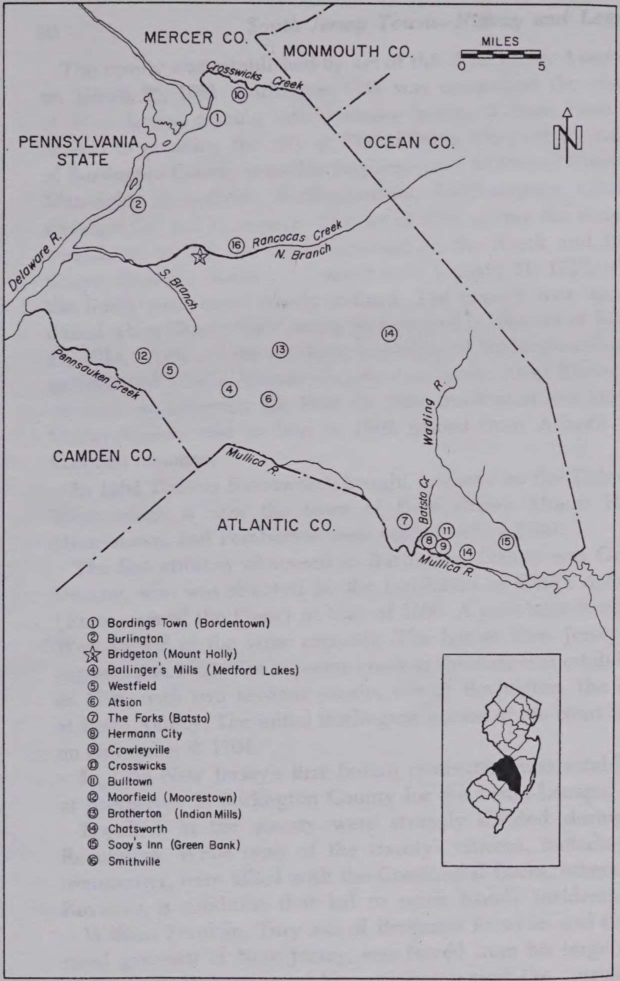
The opening of the Delaware Memorial Bridge linking Salem County and Delaware brought another change in the industrial life of the area. Delaware and the South became as important to its future development as Philadelphia and the North.

LAND OF FENWICK

The story of John Fenwick and the Salem colony harks back to the seventeenth-century New Jersey held by John Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret on a grant from the Duke of York. On March 18, 1664, the joint ownership of Berkeley and Carteret ended when Berkeley sold his half interest to John Fenwick of Binfield, County of Berks, England, who was representing Edward Byllynge, a brewmaster who was faced with financial difficulties and unable to negotiate his own purchase. Quakers William Penn, Gawen Lawrie, and Nicholas Lucas served as trustees to handle Byllynge's tangled financial affairs until all his debts were paid, acting on the Quaker belief that they should settle their own affairs without the help of civil courts.

The trustees divided the Byllynge holdings into quarters, sixteenths and so forth. Fenwick received one tenth (ten) of the original shares for his services in the transaction. Being an enthusiastic individual, Fenwick wanted to launch immediate plans for colonization; the other proprietors advised against it and wanted him to go along with their long-range planning.

Fenwick rebelled and organized his own expedition to the New World. In the summer of 1675 Fenwick and his party, in-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⑪ Bulltown
⑫ Moorfield (Moorestown)
⑬ Brotherton (Indian Mills)
⑭ Chatsworth
⑮ Sooy's Inn (Green Bank)
⑯ Smithville

BURLINGTON COUNTY

BURLINGTON COUNTY

Burlington County is the largest county in New Jersey and one of the most historic. Extending from the Delaware River on the west across the state to the Atlantic Ocean, Burlington County has an area of 827.75 square miles, 40 subdivisions, but only three major cities. On the Delaware River side, it is a busy group of ever-expanding communities closely tied to the economics of Pennsylvania. On the ocean side, it consists of ghost towns, half-ruined ironworks, and the vast Pine Barrens, traditional home of the Pineys.

Before the settlement of Burlington by the English Quakers, who arrived aboard the ship *Kent* in 1677, the only Europeans in the area were three Dutch families at Leasy Point at the mouth of Assiscunk Creek and some Swedes along Swedes Run above Riverton. Leasy Point was also called Lassa Point. On a Dutch map of 1679, it was designated as Luye Hock. In Burlington County court records of 1693, some deeds give it the name of Wingerworth Point. It has also been known as Lazy Point.

A Dutchman, Peter Yegou, settled at Leasy Point in 1668 and opened "a house of entertainment for travelers" known as Point House or Yegou's Tavern. The license to conduct the tavern granted by Governor George Carteret is said to have been the first in that vicinity.

Two parties of Quakers came ashore from the *Kent* on August 16, 1677, one from Yorkshire, the other from London. The Yorkshires bought a tract of land running from Assiscunk Creek to Rancocas Creek; the London party from Rancocas to Timber Creek. For their mutual protection the town of New Beverly (Burlington City) was built. The ship *Martha* out of Burlington, England, arrived later in 1677 and landed another party of Quakers near Burlington.

The county was established by act of the West Jersey Assembly on March 25, 1681. Burlington City was designated the capital of West Jersey, coming into existence before William Penn got around to planning the city of Philadelphia. Original townships of Burlington County were Nottingham (now in Mercer County), Mansfield, Springfield, Wellingborrow, Northampton, Chester, Chesterfield, and Eversham. The act of 1694 setting the county's boundaries as "by the River Derwent on the North and River Crapwell on the South . . ." stood until January 21, 1710, when the limits were more clearly defined. The county area was reduced when Hunterdon County was created by the act of March 11, 1714, which set the northern boundary of Burlington County at Assiscunk Creek. Mercer County was carved from Burlington territory on February 22, 1838. In 1891 Burlington lost land to Ocean County and as late as 1902 gained from Atlantic and Camden counties.

In 1682 Thomas Farnsworth bought property on the Delaware River which is now the town of Bordentown. Mount Holly, Moorestown, and Pemberton were settled before 1700.

The first attorney of record in Burlington County was George Deacon, who was selected by the legislature as King's Attorney (Prosecutor of the Pleas) in May of 1696. A year later Benjamin West served in the same capacity. The bar of New Jersey was organized in 1702. The supreme court of the state was established in 1704, with two sessions yearly, one at Burlington, the other at Perth Amboy. The initial Burlington session of the court began on November 6, 1704.

In 1758 New Jersey's first Indian reservation was established at Brotherton in Burlington County for the Lenni-Lenape.

Loyalties in the county were strongly divided during the Revolution. While most of the county's citizens, including the ironmasters, were allied with the Continental forces, others were Royalists, a condition that led to many bloody incidents.

William Franklin, Tory son of Benjamin Franklin and the last royal governor of New Jersey, was forced from his large estate at Green Bank because of his activities against the patriots. He fled to safety in New York, then held by the British, and lived his last days abroad.

Burlington County's population in 1790 was 18,085. In 1795 the county seat was moved from its original site in Burlington to Mount Holly.

Cranberries and blueberries were early agricultural crops of Burlington County's southern area. Cranberries were known to the Lenni-Lenape Indians before the coming of the white man. The New Jersey Indians bestowed a significant role upon cranberries, making them a symbol of peace. In some tribal ceremonies cranberries were passed around and eaten much in the same way as the peace pipe was used by other tribes. The great sachem of the Delawares was called Pakimintzen, meaning cranberry eater. Cranberry cultivation began in Burlington County in 1840 according to the State Board of Agriculture. Soon after that cranberries were thriving in the pines at such places as Hog Wallow, Double Trouble, Ongs Hat, Penny Pot, and Mount Misery. Today Burlington County is the leading cranberry producer of the state.

There are approximately 524,160 acres of land in Burlington County, of which 184,727 acres are devoted to agriculture, mostly berry farming. Blueberries have been an increasingly important crop since about 1911 when Elizabeth White, daughter of an early New Lisbon cranberry-growing family, showed the potential of cultivating swamp huckleberries, granddaddies of the present cultivated blueberries.

The vast Fort Dix military reservation and McGuire Air Force Base are located in Burlington County. So are Atsion, Bulltown, Batsto, Hermann City, Crowleytown, and Quaker Bridge, all part of a long-forgotten bog-iron era of South Jersey.

OLDEST COMMUNITY

Burlington, sixteen miles below Trenton, was the provincial capital of West Jersey and challenged Philadelphia as the principal port on the Delaware River. It was the center of water traffic for many years. Later, when shipmasters began to prefer the busy young city of Philadelphia because it was nearer the sea, Burling-

THE 350TH ANNIVERSARY OF NEW SWEDEN ON THE DELAWARE: RECENT BOOKS

RAYMOND JARVI

The purpose of this bibliography has been to list as comprehensively as possible the books of scholarly and popular history that have been occasioned by the observance of the New Sweden anniversary in Sweden, Finland, and the United States between 1986 and 1989. An important criterion met by each book on this list is that some attention is given in its pages to one or more aspects of the seventeenth-century New Sweden experiment itself; most of these books are wholly devoted, of course, to the study of New Sweden. Each title has been annotated with brief descriptive comments on its contents. The bibliography has been limited to hardback and/or paperbound books and does not include the numerous articles of scholarly or popular character on the subject that have appeared in newspapers, magazines, scholarly journals, and the like. The letters, *å*, *ä*, and *ö* have been put at the end of the alphabet, as Swedish usage dictates.

1. Bass, Britt, and Lasse Holmqvist. *En resa i tid och rum. New Sweden. En liten bit av Amerika*. Höganäs, Sweden: Förlags AB Wiken, 1988. 271 pp.

This is a miscellany of journalistic essays about the American lives and fates of many Swedish immigrants from the period of the New Sweden Colony but with major emphasis on those who came during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

2. Bergendoff, Conrad. *The Church of Sweden on the Delaware, 1638-1831*. Rock Island, Illinois: Augustana Historical Society, 1988. 38 pp., paper.

This study briefly traces the history of the Swedish Lutheran mission to the Delaware Valley from its beginnings to the death in 1831 of Nils Collin, the last pastor sent from Sweden, and is a useful introduction to the subject.

3. Briggs, Betty Erickson, Carol Engwall Davis, and Ann Adams Karlsson, eds. *The New Sweden Farmstead Museum Cook Book*. n.p.: n.d. 231 pp., paper.

The editors have collected and published recipes for Swedish and South Jersey dishes for the opening of the Swedish Farmstead Museum in Bridgeton, New Jersey (April, 1988). Included are a brief history of New Sweden and an essay on Swedish food.

4. Carlsson, Sten. *Swedes in North America 1638-1988: Technical, Cultural, and Political Achievements*. Stockholm: Streiffert, 1988. 136 pp.

1988 was proclaimed New Sweden Year by the President and the Congress of the United States, and this commemorative volume by the doyen of Swedish emigration scholars addresses the entire period of the Swedish presence in North America. Beginning with two brief historical narratives (early colonization, mass emigration 1845-1929), the author then devotes the major part of his study to a survey of the vocational activities of successful first- and second-generation Swedish Americans. His book is not, however, "an heroic epos but a concrete account of important historical realities."

5. Dahlgren, Stellan, and Hans Norman, eds. *The Rise and Fall of New Sweden: Governor Johan Risingh's Journal, 1654-1655, in Its Historical Context*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wicksell International, 1988. 303 pp.

This bilingual edition of the journal of New Sweden's last governor (with Swedish and English texts on facing pages) describes in minute detail Risingh's brief tenure as governor, his view of the reasons for Sweden's loss of the colony to the Dutch in 1655, and his proposals for regaining it. Two scholarly essays admirably establish the historical context: Stellan Dahlgren's "New Sweden: The State, the Company and Johan Risingh" and Hans Norman's "The Swedish Colonial Venture in North America, 1638-1655."

6. Geissler, Suzanne. *Lutheranism and Anglicanism in Colonial New Jersey: An Early Ecumenical Experiment in New Sweden*. Studies in American Religion, Vol. 29. Lewiston, New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1988. 134 pp.

This work describes the eighteenth-century development of the Swedish churches in the Delaware Valley from Lutheran to

Anglican parishes, focusing on two of them in New Jersey, Trinity Church in Swedesboro and St. George's Church in Pennsville.

7. Holm, Thomas Campanius. *Kort Beskrifvning om Provincien Nya Sverige uti Amerika*. With an afterword by Teddy Brunius. Stockholm: Rediviva, 1988.

This is a facsimile edition of the publication in 1702 by Thomas Campanius Holm of his grandfather Johannes Campanius's notes from his tenure as vicar of the New Sweden Colony (1643-1648). Johannes Campanius was the first actual missionary to the Indians, and he translated Luther's *Little Catechism* into the language of the Lenape.

8. Jordan, Terry G., and Matti Kaups. *The American Backwoods Frontier: An Ethnic and Ecological Interpretation*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989. 340 pp.

Historians and geographers have usually traced the origins of the woodland frontier culture that in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries spread across the emerging United States to the eighteenth-century Scotch-Irish and German settlers of the Pennsylvania backwoods. Jordan and Kaups reject this theory, using both ethnic and ecological analysis to identify seventeenth-century Delaware Valley Finns and their Native American neighbors as the major shapers of American backwoods frontier culture.

9. Koivukangas, Olavi. *Delaware 350: The Beginning of Finnish Migration to the New World*. Turku, Finland: Institute of Migration, 1988. 84 pp., paper.

Perhaps as many as half of the New Sweden colonists were ethnic Finns from Finland proper (then part of the Kingdom of Sweden) and also in significant numbers from central Sweden. Thus the New Sweden Colony also marks the beginning of Finnish migration to North America; and Koivukangas has provided a catalog with Finnish, Swedish, and English texts for an exhibition that documents this subject. The introductory essay also summarizes the history of later Finnish immigration to North America.

10. Lindberg, Gunilla, ed. *Det Började vid Delaware. Om svenska hembygder i Amerika*. Stockholm: Riksförbundet för Hembygdsvård, 1986. 168 pp., paper.

Occasioned by the 350th anniversary of the founding of New Sweden, this collection of twelve essays by Swedish and American scholars and publicists addresses the questions: what have the seventeenth-century Swedish colonists and the nineteenth- and twentieth-century Swedish immigrants contributed from their native culture and traditions to their new American home and who presently is maintaining this cultural heritage? Three of these essays focus specifically on the New Sweden Colony: Robert W. Harper's ''När Sverige skulle bli en världsmakt,'' Richard Hulan's ''Historiska minnen i Delaware,'' and Josef Rydén's ''Big Belly på Printz Hall.'

11. Mattson, Algot. *New Sweden: The Dream of an Empire*. Translated by Jan Teeland and Jeremy Franks. Göteborg: Tre böckers förlag AB, 1987. 161 pp.

12. —— *Nya Sverige. Drömmen om ett imperium*. Göteborg: Tre Böckers förlag AB, 1987. 178 pp.

The author seeks to give a history of the New Sweden Colony and accounts of its key figures; he has written for the general reading audience. Published in Swedish and English editions, the book is illustrated with color photographs of sites associated with the colony.

13. Olin, Karl Gustav. *Våra första amerikafarare. Historien om finlandssvenskarna i Nya Sverige*. Jakobstad, Finland: Olimex, 1988. 144 pp., hardback and paper.

The author's intention has been to document the role played by about forty Finland-Swedes, representing all classes of society and all of the Finnish provinces, in the settlement and maintenance of the New Sweden Colony. The dominant figure from this group was Sven Skute, who came from Kronoby, Finland, and served as second-in-command during the Swedish administration of the colony and whose land grant from Queen Christina included large portions of present-day Philadelphia.

14. Olson, Oliver K., ed. *The Church in New Sweden*. Milwaukee, Wisconsin: Lutheran Quarterly Inc., 1988. 153 pp.

This commemorative special issue of the *Lutheran Quarterly* is a collection of scholarly articles on the Lutheran church in the New Sweden Colony and its subsequent history. Included are studies of such key figures as Johannes Campanius and Bishop Jesper Swedberg of Skara.

15. Paulding, James Kirke. *Koningsmarke, the Long Finne*. Edited with an introductory essay and notes by Daniel A. Wells. Schenectady, New York: Union College Press, 1988. 265 pp., hardback and paper.

A close friend and collaborator of Washington Irving, James Kirke Paulding was a member of the Knickerbocker School; his novel *Koningsmarke*, reissued for the first time since its publication in 1823, is one of the half dozen works of the 1820s that mark the beginning of a truly American literature. It is also one of the very few American works of fiction set in the colony of New Sweden, the first to feature a black major character, and perhaps the clearest example in early American letters of a tragic vision of the Indians' destiny.

16. Ruhnbro, Rune, ed. *Det Nya Sverige i landet Amerika. Ett stormaktsäventyr*. Höganäs, Sweden: Förlags AB Wiken, 1988.

17. ——. *Visions of Greatness: New Sweden in the New World 1638-1655*. Translated by Richard E. Fisher. Höganäs, Sweden: Förlags AB Wiken, 1988. 169 pp.

Published in Swedish and English editions, this collection of essays on the colony's history and the legacy of its material culture includes Hans Norman's historical overview, Stellan Dahlgren's study of seventeenth-century Sweden as a great power, Göran Rystad's placement of New Sweden in the context of European colonization of North America's Atlantic Coast, Robert Murray's study of the churches of New Sweden, and Richard H. Hulan's consideration of the long-range significance of New Sweden. A brief account of the 300th anniversary events is also included.

18. Siokalo, Zoriana E. *Before Penn: Swedish Colonists in the Land of the Lenape*. With an essay by Clarissa Solmssen and Vito Trimarco. Philadelphia: American Swedish Historical Museum, 1988. 52 pp., paper.

To celebrate the 350th anniversary of the founding of New Sweden, the Museum has implemented a new permanent exhibition on the colony and its Swedish background. This publication is the catalog for the exhibition.

19. Tigerström, Harald. *Nya Sveriges siste guvernör och hans landsmän i Amerika. Till den svenska Delawarekolonins minne 1638-1988*. Klockrike, Sweden: Noteria förlag, 1988. 96 pp., paper.

Johan Risingh, the last governor of the New Sweden Colony, came from Risinge parish in Östergötland. An amateur historian from the same province has told the eventful and dramatic story of Risingh's life in this modest book. Miscellaneous information about New Sweden and nineteenth-century immigration is also included.

20. Weslager, C. A. *New Sweden on the Delaware, 1638-1655*. Wilmington, Delaware: Middle Atlantic Press, 1988. 219 pp., hardback and paper.

Dr. Weslager has written a popular history of the colony, its early settlers, and its fate after passing into the hands of the Dutch in 1655. In addition to useful maps and illustrations, the book includes a gazetter that lists the place-names in the four languages of the Delaware Valley: Lenape, Swedish, Dutch, and English. An itinerary for the present-day visitor to the area is included in the last chapter.

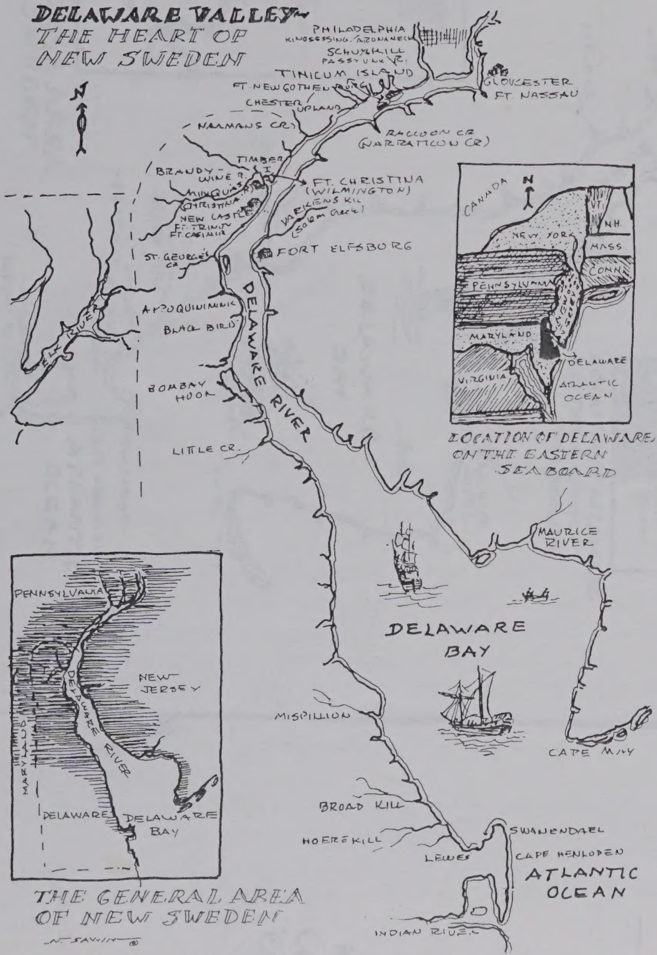
21. ——. *The Swedes and the Dutch at New Castle*. Wilmington, Delaware: Middle Atlantic Press, 1987. 240 pp., hardback and paper.

This is a detailed history of New Castle, Delaware, and its environs from its initial Swedish settlement through the Dutch conquest in 1655 and into the period of English control of the Middle Atlantic region after 1664.

22. Åberg, Alf. *Folket i Nya Sverige. Vår koloni vid Delawarefloden 1638-1655*. Stockholm: Natur och Kultur, 1987. 204 pp.

23. ——. *The People of New Sweden*. Translated by Roger Tanner. Stockholm: Natur och Kultur, 1988. 196 pp.

With skillful and discerning usage of primary and secondary sources, the author has told the entire story of New Sweden—not only its seventeenth-century heydey but also its eighteenth-century aftermath—for Swedish laymen; the book has been well translated into English for American readers, too.


DELAWARE VALLEY—
THE HEART OF
NEW SWEDEN
N
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PASSYUNK R.
TINICUM ISLAND
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(NARRATICON CR)
TIMBER I.
BRANDY-WINE R.
MINQUAS R.
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(WILMINGTON)
VARKENS KIL
(Salem Creek)
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APPOQUINIMINK
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DELAWARE RIVER
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MAURICE RIVER
DELAWARE BAY
PENNSYLVANIA
NEW JERSEY
MARYLAND
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DELAWARE
DELAWARE BAY
THE GENERAL AREA OF NEW SWEDEN
N. SAVIN ©
MISPILLION
CAPE MAY
BROAD KILL
HOERE KILL
SWANENDAEL
LEWES
CAPE HENLOPEN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
INDIAN RIVER

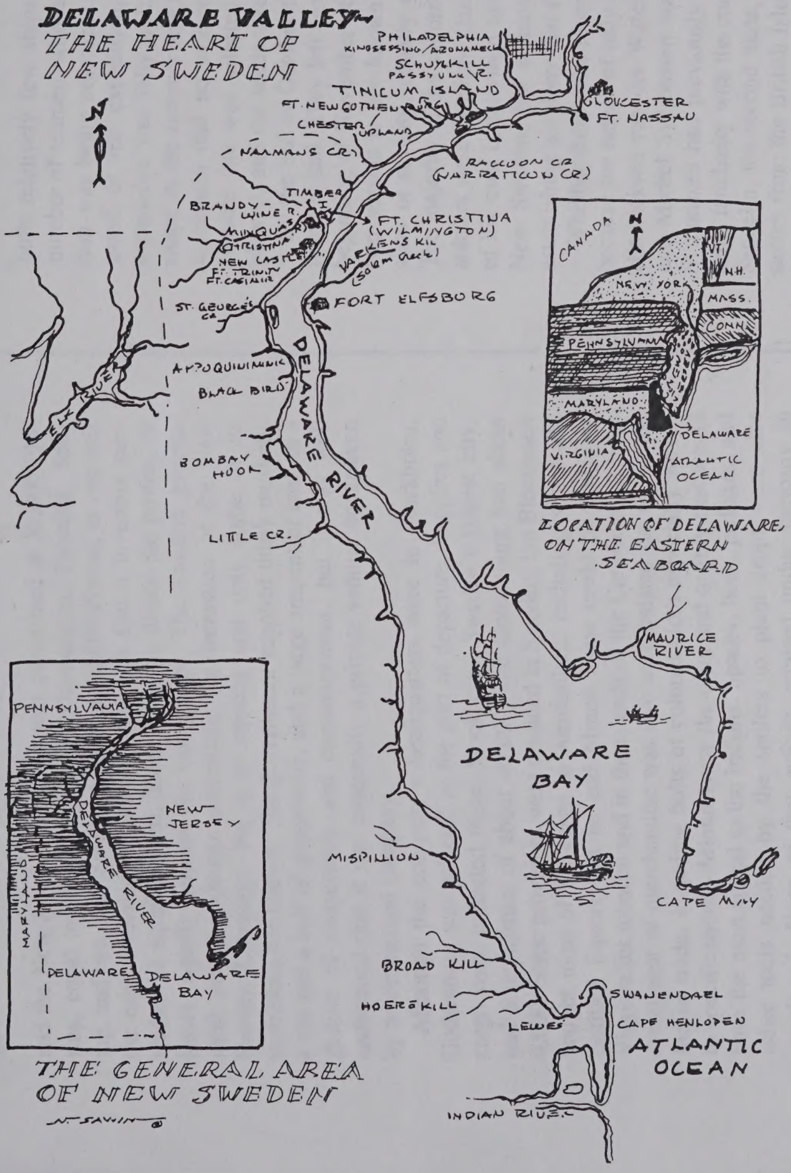
NEW SWEDEN ON THE DELAWARE: 1638-1655

by C. A. Weslager

Kalmar Nyckel
Commemorative
Committee, Inc.

Delaware Heritage
Commission

The Swedish Council
of America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N. SAWIN

DELAWARE VALLEY—
THE HEART OF
NEW SWEDEN

LOCATION OF DELAWARE
ON THE EASTERN
SEABOARD

THE GENERAL AREA
OF NEW SWEDEN

and the New Sweden Company was capitalized at 36,000 Florins, equal to 14,400 Riksdaler. Oxenstierna, Fleming, Spiring, and two other Swedes subscribed 18,000 Florins, or one-half the capital needed. Blommaert and five Dutch investors subscribed an equal amount. They agreed to divide the profits, or losses, equally between the two groups. The Swedish government issued a charter authorizing the formation of the New Sweden Company, but it is missing and only some of its provisions are known. The government supplied thirty muskets, a ton and a half of gunpowder, and a large amount of cash as a gesture of cooperation and encouragement, but it was well understood that it was essentially a private venture undertaken by a commercial company.

Although the company's headquarters were in Stockholm, Gothenburg was selected as the port of departure. Supplies and cargo were collected there. Stockholm, Sweden's largest city, had a population of about 40,000, and Gothenburg had about 4,000. Some provisions were obtained in Sweden, but Blommaert bought most of the cargo in Amsterdam, including wines and distilled liquors that he and Minuit knew could be traded in Virginia for tobacco and in the islands of the Caribbean. A large assortment of merchandise was also accumulated for use in the Indian trade, including bolts of colored cloth especially woven to specifications—Minuit knew the color and quality that would have the most appeal to the Indians. Spades, hoes, pickaxes, and other tools needed by the settlers to plant crops were also purchased. None of that activity aroused undue curiosity in Holland because Blommaert had long been engaged in buying and selling. His purchases were not questioned. The fact that the merchandise was shipped to Gothenburg did not cause any stir, because about 50 percent of the vessels then entering the Baltic were sailing under Dutch colors and transporting foreign products.

Experienced sailors were scarce at the time in Sweden, so it was common practice for Swedish skippers to employ Dutch sailors and for Dutch sea captains to command Swedish vessels. Actually, despite the extent of the Swedish seacoast, the country built relatively few ships. In Amsterdam Blommaert hired a number of seamen, who were sent to Gothenburg as the expedition was being organized. The principals offered Minuit command of the expedition, which he accepted. His valuable experience was fully utilized as plans for the expedition took shape in the summer and fall of 1637. There had been general agreement that no women or children should be sent until a suitable site was selected for colonization, a fort built, land plowed, and the seeds taken with the men sowed.

By the end of October the *Kalmar Nyckel* and the *Grip* were ready to sail. They left Gothenburg harbor on a cold day in the beginning of November 1637. The total number of men on the two vessels is not known, but there were probably less than sixty or seventy, equally divided between Swedes and Dutch. The majority of the sailors were Dutch, and the majority of the soldiers were Swedish. Oxenstierna would have preferred a cadre of his own countrymen to be a part of the initial population of New Sweden, but nationality was of lesser importance than establishing a colony that flew the Swedish flag.

Whether there were Finns in the first contingent is not known, because the names of only a few of the men were recorded. Jan Hindricksen van der Water was captain of the *Kalmar Nyckel* and Michel Symonssen was the first mate; both were Dutch. Symonssen had previously sailed in American waters and had some familiarity with the coast of North America. Jacob Evertssen Sandelin, the second mate, was a Scot, one of many footloose sailors from the British Isles who sought their fortunes in maritime Holland. Andrian Joransen was captain of the *Grip,* and the likelihood is that he was Dutch, as was Andres Lucassen, who went as an Indian interpreter having previously been in New Netherland. Johan Jochimssen, a gunner on the *Kalmar Nyckel,* was from Cappel in Schleswig-Holstein, and Peter Johanssen, the upper boatswain, was from Bemster in Holland. Måns Nilsson Kling, in command of the soldiers, was Swedish or Finnish, and Hendrick Huygen, from Wesel on the lower Rhine, a nephew of Minuit's, was the commissary in charge of supplies. Huygen's cousin Gotfried Harmer, a German boy from

Worms, went along with him as a sort of apprentice-servant. Herrman Andersson, Johan Svensson, and Sander Clerck were three of the Swedish sailors, and Klas Jansson was referred to as a "freeman."

There were two barber-surgeons in the crew, Hans Janeke from Konigsberg, Prussia, and Timen Stiddem from Hamel in Sweden.* Barber-surgeons, as the name of their trade implies, cut hair, trimmed beards, and shaved the men. They also rendered dental and medical care such as setting broken bones, amputating wounded or diseased limbs, and prescribing herb cures and other medicaments. They were proficient in bleeding their patients, a common procedure in treating ailments.

The nationalities of the men in the first expedition, and those who later came to New Sweden, cannot be determined by their names. Some Dutchmen bore names that appear to be Swedish, and some Swedish names sound Dutch. Finns usually had Swedish names. Unless there is specific documentary reference to an individual's nationality it is difficult to place the land of his birth.

A long letter containing thirty-two articles was circulated among the skippers, the crews, and the soldiers on both vessels. A copy still exists, and from it we learn that soldiers and sailors alike were instructed to obey their respective commanders and to have their weapons ready for emergencies. Stealing would be severely punished; fighting and drunkenness were strictly prohibited, as was dice throwing and other forms of gambling. Prayers were to be conducted morning and evening, and anyone absent from those services without permission was subject to a fine. Minuit, of course, had a copy of that letter, and doubtless had a hand in composing it. He also had in his possession unpublished maps of the Caribbean Islands and the New Netherland coastal areas that had been made by mariners who had sailed those waters, which the West India Company considered valuable confidential assets. Minuit had access to this information during

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*Dr. Richard H. Hulan's research corroborates that Stiddem was a member of the first expedition.

his years of service with the West India Company, and he acquainted with mapmakers and sea captains in Holland. f whom he was able to obtain the latest charts.

The two Swedish vessels ran into devastating winter storn the North Sea, which resulted in their separation. It had dently been decided before lifting anchor that they would c temporarily for fresh water at what was called "the Tex Holland's most important seaport nearest to Amsterdam. Tl the two battered vessels met again. After their leaks v caulked and the storm damage repaired, both vessels set again on December 31, 1637. The delay was caused not onl making the needed repairs, but also by contrary winds, a fa of critical importance for a crossing of the Atlantic. The abse of winds today does not deter plane, train, or automotive traf but without wind a sailing craft was immobilized. This wa costly matter, especially when crews were paid by the day becalmed vessel on the high seas had no alternative excep wait for the winds to come up again. Food and fresh water w also consumed by the personnel aboard the vessel while captain impatiently waited for the wind to blow. The sto damage and the delay at "the Texel" were not anticipated wl cost estimates were prepared for the voyage, so before the t vessels left European waters the New Sweden Company l already incurred unexpected expenses.

Minuit engaged a Dutch pilot familiar with Atlantic wat and the North American coast to come aboard the *Kaln Nyckel* at "the Texel" before the vessels resumed their voya The two ships finally reached the Atlantic "with its dead cal and howling tempests" after passing through the English ch nel, the Swedish flags flying in the wind. Reassuring messa had been sent to Oxenstierna because Minuit had no intention returning to the home port without completing his mission. It quite likely that executives in Amsterdam of the West In Company were aware that two Swedish vessels had been r paired in the Dutch port, but we can be sure that they did n know their destination was the Dutch New Netherland.

If the directors of the West India Company had known tl

movement of goods and people was largely by water. And the trees came almost down to meet the ships. The mouths of many tributaries on both shores permitted deep penetration of the land by small sloops on either side of the main stream. The first waterways seen by the lookouts on the *Grip* and the *Kalmar Nyckel* were later given such names as Indian River, Broadkill, St. Jones, Slaughter Creek, Mispillion, Cedar Creek, Murderkill, Duck Creek, Maurice River, Cohansey Creek, and Salem River.

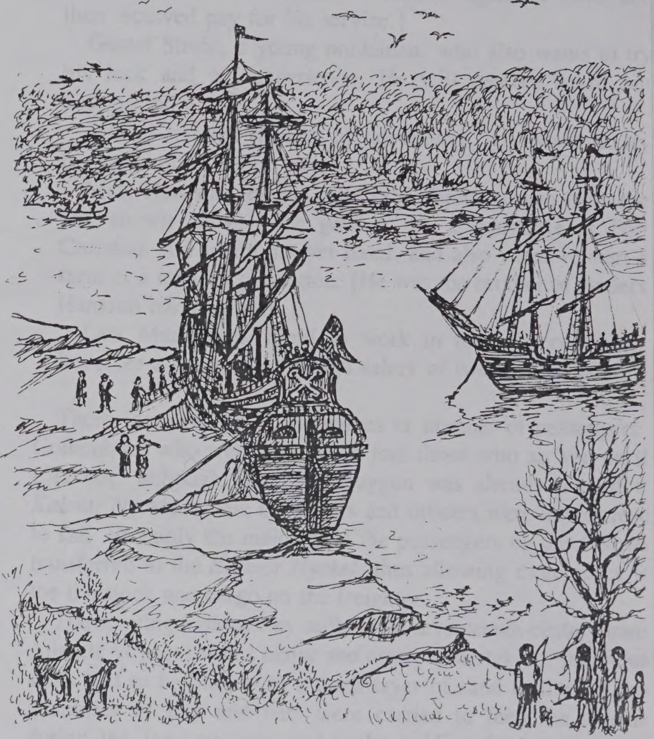
One of those streams at the mouth of the bay immediately above the sandy promontory then called ''Kaep de Hinloopen'' was known to Minuit as the Hoerekill (''the Harlot's River''), later to be named Lewes Creek. On its banks the Dutch patroons started the Swanendael colony seven years before, but nothing remained of it. As a result of misunderstandings with a local band of Indians called the Sickoneysincks, the fort and the buildings in the palisaded area were burnt to the ground in a surprise Indian attack. All of the settlers were massacred. Thoughts of this tragedy must have flashed through Minuit's mind as he sailed past the mouth of the Hoerekill, and he must also have been reminded of the Dutch ships that carried earlier explorers and settlers up the identical river where he was bringing a new nation to settle.

Invisible shoals in the South River could rip a hole in the bottom of a sailing craft or cause her to founder in a sandy grave, and the helmsmen went up the river cautiously, the boatswain's mate on the *Kalmar Nyckel* taking soundings to measure the depth of the water. The river could be navigated from the ''Kaep de Hinloopen'' almost as far north as the rocky ''falls'' at present-day Trenton, but only an experienced skipper, or one with a pilot who had been there before, would chance running the full navigable limits of the river.

Reaching the mouth of the Minquas Kill, where the Wilmington Marine Terminal is now located but which was then extensive marshlands, the *Grip* probably preceded the *Kalmar Nyckel* into the stream, moving slowly to enable Minuit to designate the particular landing place he was seeking. As the river narrowed he saw the site in a bend on the right bank—an outcrop of

MARCH, 1638: "THE "KALMAR NYCKEL" AND THE "FOGEL GRIP" LAND AT THE ROCKS AT PRESEN
DAY WILMINGTON, DELAWARE AFTER MORE THA
A 4-MONTH VOYAGE FROM SWEDEN.

PETER MINUIT IN CHARGE OF THE EXPEDITION BOUGHT THE LAND FROM THE INDIANS AND ERECTED **FORT CHRISTINA** AT THIS SITE. THIS EXPEDITION WAS THE BEGINNING OF **NEW SWEDEN**. THE **KALMAR NYCKEL** MADE TWO OTHER VOYAGES WITH SWEDISH AND FINNISH SETTLERS.



When the *Charitas* left Stockholm there were thirty-five persons aboard, including Lieutenant Kling and his family. Some were Finns and others Swedes, although their ethnic identities were not stated. Apparently individual arrangements were made with each prospective colonist; some were to be paid by the company as employees; some went on their own; some were given a small cash bounty before boarding the vessel. It was a rare instance where the names were recorded and general comments made about the persons themselves. Those comments have been abbreviated below to give the reader some understanding of the character of the colonists on that expedition:

> Eight of the men, servants, laborers, or soldiers, were each given a suit of clothes and a salary of twenty Riksdaler per year. Their names were Ivert Hindricksson, Olof Påvelsson, Per Johannson, Johan Ericksson, Anders Hansson, Jacob Sprint, Paul Jöransson, and Axel Stille.
>
> Three boys each to have a yearly salary of ten Riksdaler—Henrick Matsson, Olof Erickson, and Johan, no last name given.* A fourth boy, Påfvel Schal, son of a Stockholm baker, goes without receiving any pay. [Possibly it was intended to have those boys serve as apprentices.]
>
> Mans Svensson Lom, a tailor, who had been a lieutenant, accompanied by his wife, two teenage daughters, and a small son. He receives no salary, apparently intending to earn his own living.
>
> Olof Stille, a mill-maker, or millwright, with a wife and two small children. He receives no salary, but will be paid for what he does. [At that time there was no gristmill in New Sweden; possibly it was intended that he build one.]
>
> Mats Hansson, one of Klas Fleming's servants, who had committed an unnamed offense, was sent as punishment. He will receive food and clothing from the company but no pay.
>
> Per Kock [Peter Cock] an imprisoned soldier, sent to serve out his term, who is to receive food and clothing bu no pay.
>
> Karl Johansson, a bookkeeper, deported as punishmen for an unstated misdeed. He is also supposed to serve a times as a soldier. [It is known that he was a Finn.]
>
> Eskel Larsson, a deserter from the army, sent fo punishment.
>
> Herr Christoffer, a Lutheran preacher, who will receiv board but no pay. He goes for experience and to try hi luck. [While in New Sweden he assisted the Reveren Torkillus, but he returned to Sweden again in 1643 an then received pay for his service.]
>
> Gustaf Strahl, a young nobleman, who also wants to try his luck and get experience. He will receive board bu nothing more.
>
> Mickel Jonsson (Bolm), an adventurer, who wants to try his luck and seeks no pay.
>
> Mats Hansson and his wife [a different person from the one shown above]. He goes to be a constable at Fort Christina at a salary not yet fixed, and also wants to start a farm or a tobacco plantation. [He was the brother of Anders Hansson named above.]
>
> Lars Markusson, hired to work in the tobacco fields. Receives a suit and an annual salary of twenty Riksdaler.

There is no record of the names or number of passengers Gothenburg who were waiting to join those who arrived on th *Charitas*, although Hendrick Huygen was already aboard th *Kalmar Nyckel,* where the sailors and officers were almost read to sail. Probably the majority of the passengers on the *Charit* transferred to the *Kalmar Nyckel*, thus allowing more space f the livestock and cargo on the freighter.

Transporting livestock by sailboat on seventeenth-century trans Atlantic voyages was a major and costly undertaking. Individua stalls had to be built with a thick layer of sand as litter. Larg quantities of hay and oats were carried to feed the animal during the long voyage, and tanks holding fresh water wer

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*Peter S. Craig identifies him as Johan Andersson who later adopted the name Stalcop.

stored below the main deck. Farm hands familiar with livestock took care of the frightened animals as the vessels tossed on the waves and encountered storms, as the two ships did on the three-month voyage. The highest priority was given to keeping the animals alive and well, because horses were needed in the colony to draw plows and haul loads, and cows carrying their unborn calves would later produce milk to make cheese and other dairy products needed to feed the soldiers and colonists. No wool was available in New Sweden, and the timid sheep were pampered in every possible way to enable them to withstand an ocean voyage in storms that often frightened the strongest of men.

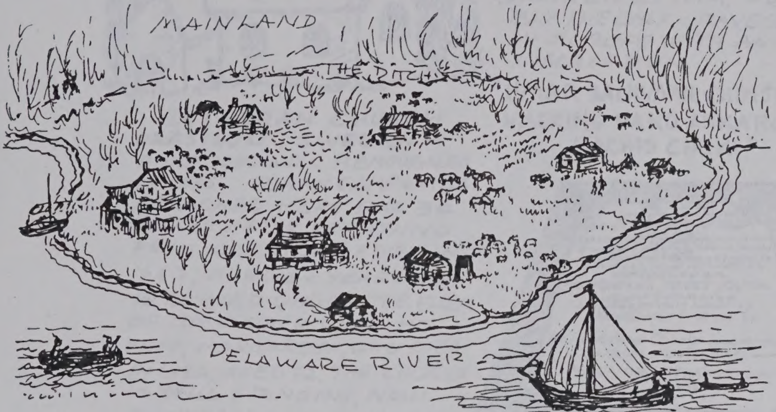
On that voyage the *Kalmar Nyckel* served principally as a carrier of personnel and a warship to protect the *Charitas* from freebooters. Neither vessel carried gold or silver, but their animals and cargoes constituted commodities that a privateer could seize and readily sell in the Caribbean Islands. The two vessels left Gothenburg in July, the *Kalmar Nyckel* under the command of Andrian Jansen, a Dutchman from Saardam, and the *Charitas* under the command of Jan Jochimsen from Kappell, Schleswig-Holstein. The first mate on the *Charitas* was the Scotchman Jacob Evertssen Sandelin, who had been the second mate on the *Kalmar Nyckel*'s maiden voyage to New Sweden. The majority of the sailors and soldiers on that voyage appear to have been Swedes, although there were also a few Dutch.

The colonists at Fort Christina were overjoyed on November 7, 1641, to see the two Swedish vessels entering the mouth of the Minquas Kill, and Ridder was delighted when the cargoes were unloaded with foodstuffs, bags of seeds, tools, building supplies, merchandise for the Indian trade, and the long-awaited farm animals. Almost everything he had requested was on the vessels, and, generally speaking, the new colonists provided most of the skills then needed. Having endured one cold winter at the fort, Ridder was anxious to house the new families properly before the snow fell, and the small buildings within the fort were already overcrowded. New log cabins were built outside the fort on plots selected for settlement, and new land was cleared and prepared for spring planting. Some of the animals died during the voyage, but five horses, eight cows, five sheep, and two goats were landed alive, and shelter had to be provided for them. There were already a number of pigs in the colony, which had been taken over previously or been bought in New Amsterdam. The pigs bred rapidly. Many of them ran wild, foraging in the woods. Often they were shot, and the pork smoked and salted for winter use.

By the time the *Kalmar Nyckel* and *Charitas* were ready to return to Sweden on November 29, 1641, the colonists had made good progress building their cabins, and Lieutenant Kling had reorganized and strengthened the garrison at the fort with the soldiers who came with him. Gregorius van Dyck and Joost van Langdonk returned to Sweden on one of the ships. Ridder was not sorry to see the latter go because he was a troublemaker, an inefficient commis, and, as a Calvinist, an abuser of the Reverend Torkillus and the other Swedish Lutherans. On the other hand, van Dyck was a competent executive who returned to the colony less than two years later. The movement of individuals back and forth between Sweden and America kept the company better informed than is generally realized.

The *Kalmar Nyckel* and the *Charitas* left Fort Christina with almost empty holds. There were only six beaver pelts in the storehouse when the two ships arrived because the New Haven English had ruined the Indian trade that year, and, of course, there was no tobacco crop to export. On the return voyage the *Charitas* obtained 1,278 barrels of salt in France, which was largely sold in Finland, where there was a good market for salt. Salt was an important import in both Sweden and Finland, usually coming from Spain and Portugal. Its main use was as a preservative.

Very little is known about the religious life in the colony during the Ridder administration, although it is certain that religion was taken very seriously because the worship of God was given the highest priority among both rich and poor in both Sweden and Holland. There can be no question that the Reverend Torkillus conducted Lutheran services in the fort with pro-



THE AUTHOR'S CONCEPT OF

TINICUM ISLAND

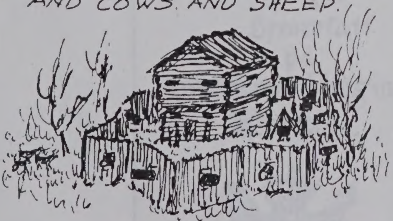
GOVERNOR PRINTZ'S SLOOP

THE "CAPITAL" OF NEW SWEDEN FROM 1644 TO 1654

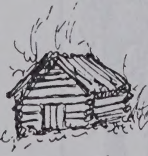
GOVERNOR PRINTZ'S LAND WAS CULTIVATED AND HIS 50 BEASTS WERE HORSES AND COWS. AND SHEEP.

"Twelve morgans of field, fifty beasts and the buildings which belong to Governor Printz" -[VALUE 4,000 R.D. - RIKSDALAR]

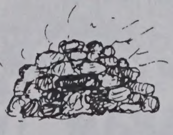
(12 MORGANS = 24 ACRES



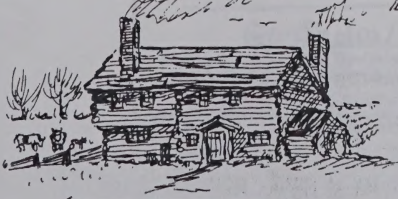
FORT NEW GOTHENBURG
4 CANNON FACING RIVER



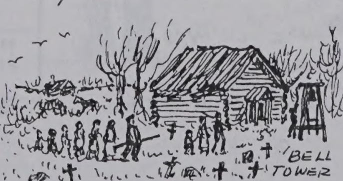
BADSTU



ROCKS INSIDE A BADSTU WITH FIRE BOX

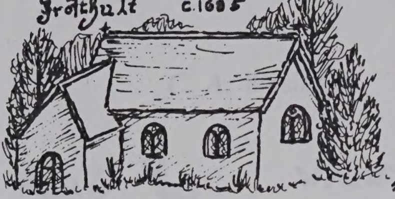


"PRINTZHOFF
CLAPBOARD ROOF AND GLASS WINDOWS



LOG CHURCH AND CEMETERY
—N. SAWIN ©

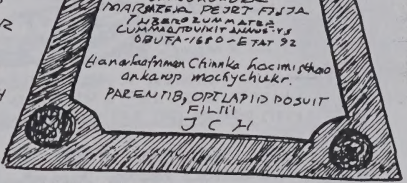
Saginaw Valley State College Library


Frösthult c.1685

LUTHERAN CHURCH FRÖSTHULT, SWEDEN – BUILT 1300 A.D. REMODELLED IN 1685. JOHAN CAMPANIUS PREACHED HERE FOR 32 YEARS AFTER RETURNING FROM AMERICA. HE DIED IN 1683, AGED 82 YEARS, AND IS BURIED UNDER THE FLOOR OF THE CHURCH WITH HIS WIFE, MARGARETA, WHO DIED IN 1682, AGED 72. THE CHURCH IS STILL STANDING, NOW ENLARGED WITH A TOWER AND BELFRY. (INFORMATION FROM PASTOR FRANK BLOMFELT.)

CAMPANIUS'S GRAVESTONE INSCRIBED IN LATIN, ALSO CONTAINS AN EPITAPH IN THE LENAPE DIALECT WRITTEN BY HIM, PROBABLY THE ONLY GRAVESTONE IN EUROPE WITH AN INDIAN INSCRIPTION.

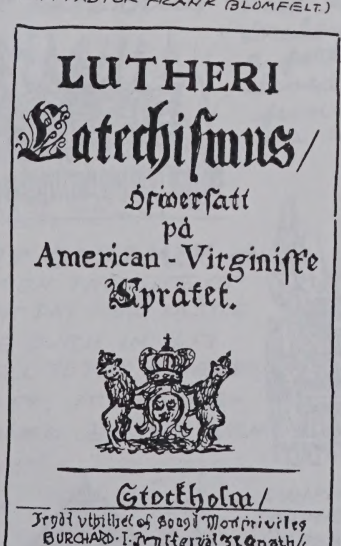
"UMAR SACHIMAN CHINSIKKA HACKING HARO ANKAROP MACHIS CHUKI"


HOC TUMULO
CONDITUR ...
... JOH CAMPANIUS HOLM
...
NAT 1601 ... 1683 AETAT 82
UNACUM UXORE
MARGARETA PEJRT FILIA
...
OBUTA-1680-ETAT 92
Hanarkaafnmen Chinnka hocimisthao
ankarop mockychukr.
PARENTIB, OPT LAPID POSUIT
FILIII
J C H

LENAPE SPEAKERS IN OKLAHOMA INTERVIEWED BY LINGUIST, JAMES A. REMENTER, SAY WORDS ARE A JARGON, NOT PURE LENAPE, WHICH SEEM TO MEAN:

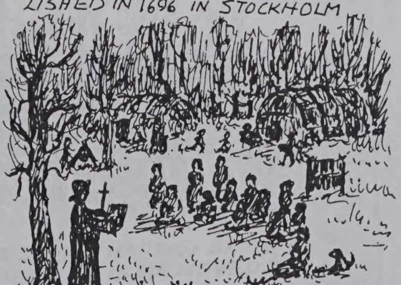
" THE OLD PRIEST DIED AND IS BURIED HERE"

TITLE PAGE OF MARTIN LUTHER'S LITTLE CATECHISM IN LENAPE DIALECT BY CAMPANIUS, PUBLISHED IN 1696 IN STOCKHOLM


LUTHERI
Catechiſmus/
Öfwerſatt
på
American-Virginiſke
Språket.

Stockholm/
Trydt vthi thet af Kongl Mon privileg
BURCHARD · I · Trycteriet af J. J. Genath f.
ANNO M DC XCVI.

N. SAWIN ©



CAMPANIUS PREACHING TO THE INDIANS IN THEIR OWN LANGUAGE.

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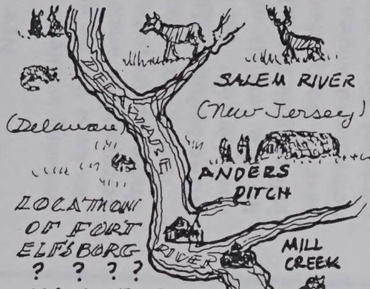
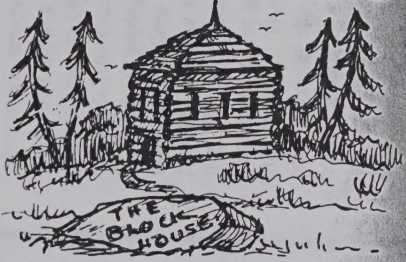


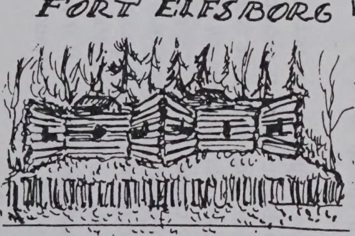
NO ONE BUT THE DELAWARE RIVER REALLY KNOWS!

WICACO BLOCKHOUSE



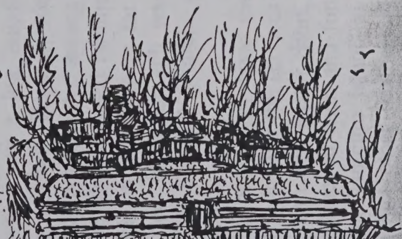
SKETCHED FROM A WOODCUT IN 2ND EDITION OF REV. JEHU CURTIS' ANNALS OF THE SWEDES ON THE DELAWARE (1858)

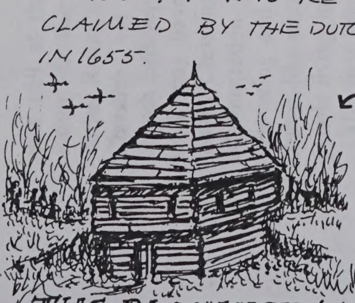
POSSIBLE DESIGN OF FORT ELFSBORG



OCT. 13, 1643 "sailed by Reed Island, and came to Vercken's Kill where there was a fort constructed by the Swedes with three angles from which they fired on us to strike our flag." —DAVID PETER DEVRIES

FORT CASIMIR → BUILT ON THE SITE OF PRESENT DAY NEW CASTLE BY THE DUTCH IN 1651. IT FELL TO THE SWEDES IN 1654. IT WAS RECLAIMED BY THE DUTCH IN 1655.





THE BLOCKHOUSE AT UPLAND

GUNPORTS WERE NARROW SLOTS OR LOOPHOLES. IT IS BELIEVED THE DEFENDERS FIRED FROM AN INSIDE PLATFORM REACHED BY STEPS CUT FROM A SOLID LOG.

GOVERNOR PRINTZ IN A REPORT OF JUNE 11, 1644 CALLED IT "a strong wooden house with small stone cannon".

[A "STONE CANNON" FIRED ROUND STONES INSTEAD OF METAL BALLS]

N. SAWIN ©

Placing Dutch
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Poring over
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After reach
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noise of beat
Lieutenants P
meeting at P
invasion force

Saginaw Valley State College Library

was still at the Lutheran church on Tinicum Island, where Pastor Matthias Nertunius conducted the services. It is true that during Rising's administration Pastor Lock held services at Fort Christina, but contemporary records make no reference to a church building there or at New Castle. The probability is that Lock may have officiated in the chapel at Fort Christina (or simply Christina, as it came to be known) built during Ridder's administration. It is not unlikely that Printz may have authorized renovating and decorating the chapel to make it appear more church-like since he was responsive to the spiritual needs of the people living in the vicinity.

The first true Swedish Lutheran church in what is now the state of Delaware was a log building erected south of the Christina River at Crane Hook in 1667. It accomodated members of a small community that sprang up there, but members of the congregation also included families living in the area from Naaman's Creek on the north as far south as Appoquinimink Creek. The Crane Hook Church was supplanted in 1699 by Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church, which was built after the fall of New Sweden.

Rising held a number of civic meetings at the church on Tinicum Island following the services conducted by the Reverend Nertunius, who, like Pastor Hiört, had come with Rising on the *Örn*. Rising moved back and forth from Fort Christina to Fort Trinity and Tinicum Island as need required, to hold courts and conduct other business. For instance, on June 9, 1654, a day set aside for feasting and prayer in the colony, he went up to Tinicum to attend church, and following the services he summoned all the freemen, male and female, young and old. He told them he was aware of the discontent that had occurred during the Printz admimistration, and he knew that some persons had run away and others had signed a petition complaining about Printz. He said that the facts were known in Sweden, where Printz could defend his actions and where the case would be resolved. He asked for their support and hoped that they would all remain faithful Swedish subjects and not desert the colony. At his request forty-eight of his listeners signed an oath

swearing loyalty to Queen Christina, but little did the signatories know that the queen was then preparing for her abdication ceremony and would shortly be succeeded by her cousin Crown Prince Charles (subsequently Charles X).

Among those who signed the oath were eight widows, one whose husband, Mans Svensson Lom, came on the *Kalmar Nyckel* in 1641. The other seven possibly lost their husbands on the *Örn*, and six of the male signers were marked "sick," indicating the illness had not abated. The widow women did not have to worry about getting new husbands—men always outnumbered women in the colony and practically all widows remarried. Single girls also became wives at a young age, often sixteen or seventeen. Rising, who was a bachelor, apparently could not find a helpmate who pleased him, so he wrote Eric Oxenstierna to try to locate a suitable wife in Sweden willing to come to America.

Rising's aspirations for economic expansion vaporized because the settlers were not self-supporting; there were too many people, too few houses, and an inadequacy of food and clothing. He was forced to trade with a merchant from Hartford, Connecticut, for grain, fish, salt, bread, cloth, and other needed merchandise. The Lenape on the Schuylkill refused to supply corn because they feared catching the disease that they saw hovering like an evil spirit around the *Örn*. Rising had to send the company's sloop to New England to obtain food, and he also sent the sloop to the Hoerekill and the Appoquinimink to obtain corn and deer meat from the natives.

Through the influence of his assistant commissary, Jacob Swensson, who was highly regarded by the Indians, ten or twelve Lenape chiefs from Passayunk agreed to meet with Rising at Printzhoff. Rising reassured them that the Swedes meant them no harm and that they should trust in God, as the Swedes did, to halt the sickness. Bonds of friendship were renewed, and the chiefs agreed to supply corn to help feed the colonists. As a token of friendship, Rising was obliged to give each sachem a yard of cloth, a kettle, an axe, a hoe, a knife, six awl points, one pound of gunpowder, and one stick of lead for

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moulding bullets for hunting. About twenty of the Indian camp followers who tagged along with the chiefs had to be given presents, too, and the whole delegation was entertained with an unspecified quantity of "strong drink," which they all enjoyed.

Confirming treaties or land sales with other chiefs at the Hoerekill and in New Jersey required additional quantities of trade goods. Those conferences reduced the inventory intended to buy pelts, and the fur trade consequently suffered. Having also used merchandise brought on the *Örn* to buy necessities from English merchants, Rising had difficulty obtaining goods for the *Örn* to carry back to Sweden, and he knew how costly it was for a vessel to return with an empty hold. He was able to negotiate with another English merchant named Isaac Allerton for 15,926 pounds of Virginia tobacco at nine Stivers per pound, paid for largely on promissory notes. The tobacco filled only forty-seven barrels, not nearly enough to cover the cost of the ship's passage back home, but it was the maximum credit Allerton could extend.

Rising was not only disappointed in the unsatisfactory returns from the colony, he was also forced to deal with the annoyances of English political rivals. Officials from the New Haven colony continued to claim ownership of lands in the Delaware valley, while at the same time the provincial government of Maryland maintained that the land in New Sweden along the west bank of the Delaware south of present Philadelphia belonged to Lord Baltimore by right of the charter Charles I had issued to him. Representatives from Maryland visited Fort Christina to argue for their rights, and the governor of New Haven wrote protesting letters, all of which Rising refuted by arguing that the Swedes possessed legal title by right of land purchase from the rightful Indian owners. The English were fully cognizant of the economic and military weaknesses in the Swedish colony, which obviously diluted Rising's bargaining position. Yet Rising took a strong, positive stand that the Swedish government would fully support him with men and supplies. At the same time he was deeply worried about why the *Haj* had not arrived.

In mid-August a number of soldiers asked Rising for their

release because the limited food supply was being ratio
their linen shirts were worn out, and the supply of coarse
cloth used as a substitute was exhausted. Strong persuasion
required to convince them not to desert the colony. Rising
minded them that at any day the *Haj* would arrive with suppl
Then on September 24 Rising experienced the heaviest b
since his arrival almost five months earlier; the friendly Eng
merchant from Hartford brought him both good news and
news from New Amsterdam. The long-awaited *Haj* had arri
with a year's supply of rations for the Swedes—but Dire
Stuyvesant, piqued at Rising's capture of Fort Casimir, sei
the ship and cargo! After confiscating and selling the fc
Stuyvesant impressed the vessel in the service of the West I
Company and gave it a new name. The crew was disbanc
and the Swedish passengers were put ashore on Manha
Island, where most of them remained.

A merchant named Hendrick Van Elswick, who was in c
mand of the *Haj*, made his way overland to the Delaw
arriving on November 30 in the company of Lieutenant S
Höök, a servant, a clerk, and a soldier. Van Elswick and H
were valuable additions to the staff at Fort Christina.
Elswick was placed in charge of the storehouse in the fort
the account books, but he could do little that winter to sati
the widespread hunger in the colony. The situation was worse
by terrible weather. Ice floes in the rivers and creeks dama
houses and boats, and high waters tore the company's sl
loose from her anchor and carried the vessel far up the Christ
Kill. Rising himself fell ill with a high fever, and during
illness there were more desertions. To make matters wor
when spring came the winter wheat crop did not mature satisf
torily because of the severity of the weather.

After his "winter of discontent" Rising might have be
expected to become discouraged to the point of resigning
frustrating position, but he remained optimistic about the colo
and its future. The farm fields were replanted; food, suppli
sheep, and cattle in limited quantity were obtained from me
chants in Connecticut and Virgina. Rising had no merchandi

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to Rising on the east side of the Elk River "from the beginning of the Chakakitque-fall all the way unto the ends of Amisackan-fall . . . a land of choice soil endowed with beautiful fresh rivers, so that many thousand families, who might settle there can find nourishment." The Minquas were not altruistic in making the gift because they stipulated that the Swedes should build trading posts on the land and keep them well supplied with European merchandise for their convenience. The Swedes were also to settle blacksmiths and gunsmiths at the trading posts to mend Indian guns.

Rising was very pleased with the proposition and agreed to take full advantage of it as soon as Swedish ships arrived with reinforcements and goods. Although it is difficult to bound this land with precision, it substantially added to the physical size of New Sweden by extending the western boundary. It meant there would be plenty of fertile land to accomodate all the Swedes who wanted to come to America, and by positioning their trading posts in former Minquas territory, the Swedes would have preference over both the English and the Dutch in their commerce with the Susquehanna Indians.

What do we know about those freemen, soldiers, servants, and company employees who remained loyal to Director Rising and were willing to endure the hardships in the colony? In the aggregate they represented persons who had crossed the Atlantic at different times, some having come on the *Örn* with Rising and others with Printz. A number came on one of the *Kalmar Nyckel*'s three voyages, or on one of the several other Swedish vessels. Among the most common of the male personal names were Anders, Hendrick, Lars, Johan, Mats, Peter, Sven, and some of the family names were patronyms, which means they were derived from the father's Christian name. Anders, a son of Sven, might be called Anders Svensson; and Johan, a son of Anders Svensson, could be known as Johan Andersson. The patronymic then became a family name, and Svensson was modified to Swanson; Johan Andersson was anglicized to John Anderson. In some instances an individual appended an alias to his name; one of the Johan Anderssons added Stålfkota ("steel jacket") to his name to distinguish him from others of the same name. That addition evolved into a family name variously rendered as Staelcop, Stalcop, or Stalcup. Other examples could be cited of how surnames were adopted by the early Swedish-Americans—some based on a trade or profession, others on a town of one's origin—and how those names supplanted the patronym.

Those men, as well as the women and children, cross the pages of Delaware valley history as faceless characters. They lived in an age before cameras were invented and in a colony where there were no portrait painters. Portraits of some of the aristocrats and nobles, like Johan Printz, Axel Oxenstierna, Per Brahe, and others were executed in Sweden, but no paintings or drawings of the ordinary people who came to America are known to exist. The tendency is to visualize them as blue-eyed, fair-skinned people descended from sea-roving Norsemen. Many may have met that description, but there must also have been brunettes with brown eyes and redheads with hazel eyes of the same physical type seen today on the streets of Stockholm or Gothenburg. There were Germans, Dutch, Holsteiners, and other nationalities; some may have been tall, others short; some wore beards, others did not; some were bald, and others had hair hanging almost to their shoulders. At least one of them was the black man from West Africa who was working with other laborers in 1644 cutting hay in the fields at Printzhoff and serving as a deckhand on Governor Printz's sloop. His name is among those listed on the official rolls as gunners, trumpeters, blacksmiths, carpenters, swineherders, drummers, soldiers, gunsmiths, farm hands, clerks, maid servants, etc.

There was no continuity in the enrollment lists, and Anthony, the black man, vanishes from the records after 1654 along with many others. No one can be certain what happened to them. The lineage of many others can be traced through birth, marriage, and death records. Today there are innumerable descendants of those early Scandinavians living not only in the Delaware valley but throughout the United States. One thing about their ancestors is certain: the early Swedes and Finns were not a

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case in Sweden, because he decided to remain on the Delaware as a freeman under the Stuyvesant government. Lieutenant Elias Gyllengren also decided to remain with him.

Ultimately thirty-seven males, including some soldiers, several freemen, Hendrick Van Elswick, Lieutenant Höök, Peter Lindeström, and the two pastors, Matthias Nertunius and Peter Hiört, left the colony to return home. Wives and children also accompanied them, but the exact number of family dependents who returned to Sweden is not known. Two boys, sons of Armegot and Papegoja, returned without their mother, who remained in the colony. Pastor Lock (Laurentius Carolus Lockenius) also remained behind, then the only remaining Lutheran pastor on the Delaware. The departing Swedes and Finns left the colony on October 11, 1655. After a sojourn in New Amsterdam, Stuyvesant assigned them to three different vessels with their baggage, and on October 23 they went to sea.

New Sweden as a political entity ended with the signing of peace terms between Stuyvesant and Rising on September 15, 1655. The story of New Sweden did not have a happy ending, but by no means did the political defeat mean the downfall of Swedish culture and religion. The number of men, women, and children who remained in the former New Sweden territory after Rising's departure is not known, but the total population was doubtless less than 250 or 300. The names of nineteen males are listed as signers of an oath pledging allegiance to Governor Stuyvesant, the government of the United Netherlands, and the directors of the West India Company. They promised not to engage in any hostile act but to conduct themselves as obedient and faithful subjects as long as they lived "at the South River of New Netherland."

Their names are given below as recorded in the document, but the reader should be aware that the same names may appear in other documents under different spellings. Only five signed their names; these are shown by asterisks; the others, who were illiterate, made their marks.

Jan Eckhoff*
Constantinus Gronenbergk*
Thoomas Bruyn
William Morris*
Harman Janse
Anies Gostoffson*
Baernt Jansen
Oloff Fransen
Andries Jansen
Jan Justen
Jan Schoffel
Marten Martense
Klaes Tomasse
Lambert Michelse
Mathys Esselse
Timen Stiddem*
Samuel Peterse
Lucas Petersen
Moens Andriesen

Other Swedes and Finns may have signed the same oath, but this one undated document seems to be the only survivor. Exactly where the above signatories were then residing is not stated. Most of them probably lived in the environs of Fort Casimir, because the Swedes and Finns occupying houses there were not dispossessed during Stuyvesant's invasion; others may have lived near Fort Christina; and still others in the Chester-Marcus Hook area and at Tinicum Island, Kingsessing, Aronameck, Passayunk, and elsewhere.

Since there was no longer a Swedish governor and council to represent the Swedish government, the Dutch now held the political reins. Before leaving for New Amsterdam, Stuyvesant assigned Captain Dirck Smith (sometimes spelled Smit or Smidt) as the provisional commander of New Sweden with his headquarters at Fort Casimir. Smith commanded a company of sixty soldiers during the invasion. Some of those soldiers remained to garrison the fort, but the majority returned with Stuyvesant to

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Being a valuable *Compendium* of HISTORICAL INFORMATION concerning the STATE of DELAWARE lavishly embellished and enlivened with felicitous *Illustrations* by the most eminent *Artists* and accurate *Maps* and *Plans* by the most ingenious *Cartographers*, imprinted for and published by the DELAWARE TERCENTENARY COMMISSION in the month of December, A. D. 1937 and to be sold by it at *One Dollar* a copy of this, the *First Edition*

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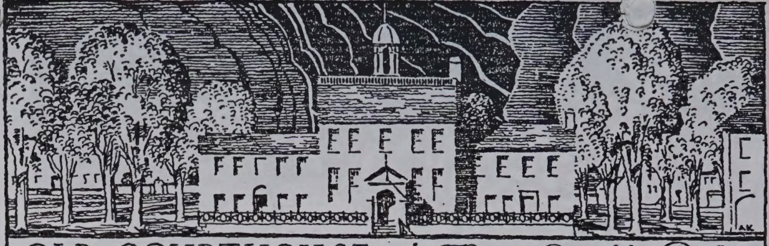
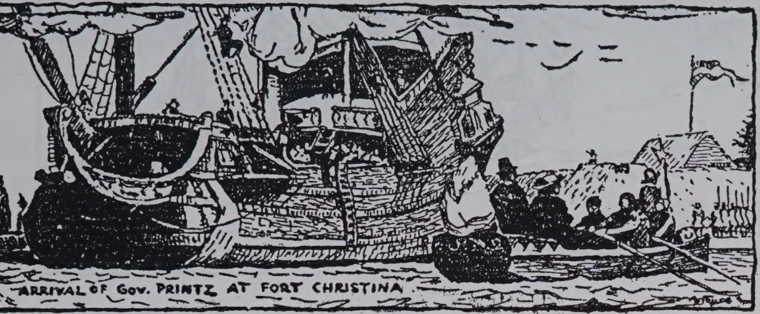


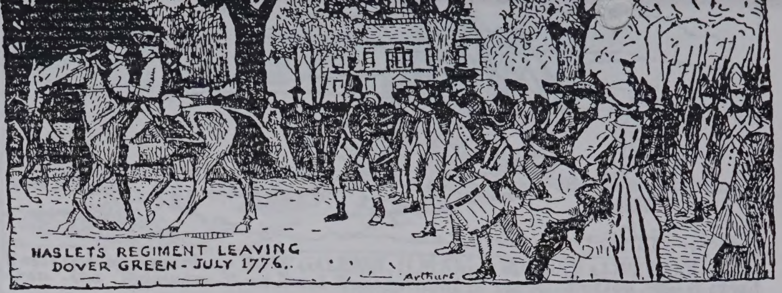
OLD COURTHOUSE at New Castle Del.

JANUARY

1	Sa.	1782, Del. Continental troops join Greene's army in the Carolinas.
2	Su.	1777, Col. Haslet killed in battle of Princeton. 1868, R. C. McMullen, Gov., born.
3	M.	1663, Gov. Johan Printz dies, Sweden. 1837, First Board of Trade organized, Wilmington.
4	Tu.	1752, Col. David Hall born, Lewes. 1772, Caesar A. Rodney born, Dover.
5	W.	1788, The Library Company of Wilmington founded.
6	Th.	1800, Memorial "funeral procession" for Geo. Washington at New Castle.
7	F.	1803, Washington's portrait, now in State House, Dover, delivered to Genl. Assembly.
8	Sa.	1633, David deVries lands at Fort Nassau.
9	Su.	1633, DeVries buys corn and furs from friendly Indians.
0	M.	1656, Dutch at Fort Casmir try to fix price for deer-skins.
1	Tu.	1823, Newport Turnpike Co. given permission to erect toll gates.
2	W.	1881, Court-house, Wilmington, first occupied.
3	Th.	1834, First public theatrical performance in Wilmington.
4	F.	1889, New Century Club, Wilmington, organized.
5	Sa.	1870, Pierre S. duPont, philanthropist, born, Wilmington.
	Su.	1781, Capt. Kirkwood's troops encamped at Cowpens.
7	M.	1781, Battle of Cowpens, Delaware troops cited for "gallant behavior."
	Tu.	1832, Wilmington chartered as a city.
9	W.	1776, John Haslet commissioned Col. of Del. regt. 1869, Henry Ridgely, born, Dover.
	Th.	1807, Wilmington Bridge Co. inc. 1855, Nautilus Pearl Fishing Co. inc.
	F.	1845, Ole Bull, famous violinist, plays in Wilmington, "immense audience."
	Sa.	1813, Branch of Farmers' Bank at Wilmington authorized.
	Su.	1856, First Del. R. R. train arrives at Dover.
	M.	1789, Gunning Bedford appointed Justice of the Peace.
	Tu.	1826, Del. Fire Ins. Co. incorporated.
	W.	1847, Troops recruited at Swan Hotel, Wilmington, for Mexican War.
	Th.	1859, Wilmington Institute incorporated.
	F.	1821, D. M. Bates, Chancellor, born, Laurel. 1869, Masonic Hall Co. organized, Wilmington.
	Sa.	1801, Chesapeake and Delaware Canal Co. incorporated.
	Su.	1787, General Assembly of Delaware grants Oliver Evans two patents.
	M.	1809, Charles I. du Pont, manufacturer, dies.



ARRIVAL OF GOV. PRINTZ AT FORT CHRISTINA



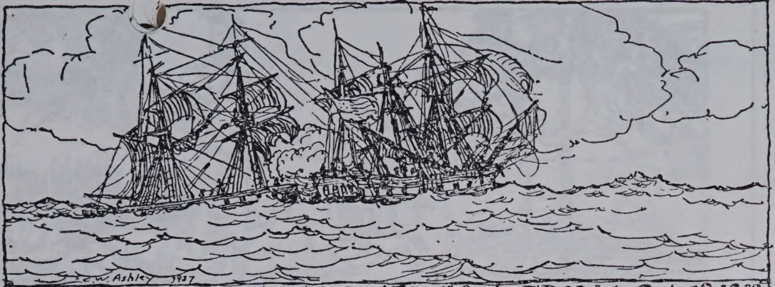
HASLET'S REGIMENT LEAVING DOVER GREEN - JULY 1776.

FEBRUARY

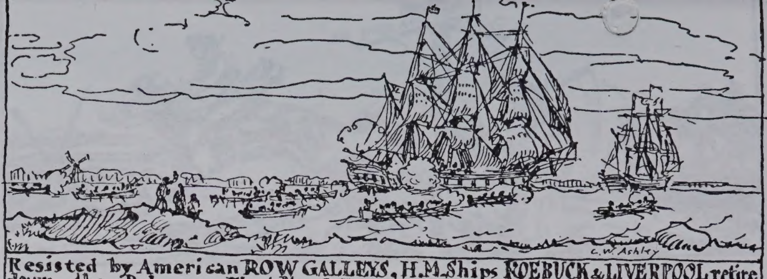
u.	1779, Delaware delegates authorized to ratify Articles of Confederation.
V.	1654, Ship *Orn* leaves Sweden for New Sweden.
h.	1787, Delaware Assembly grants John Fitch exclusive right to operate steamboat.
.	1807, Farmers' Bank of Del. inc. 1864, Wilmington City Railway Co. inc.
a.	1833, New Ark College (U. of D.) chartered. 1805, R. M. Bird, famous author,
u.	1849, New Castle County Mutual Fire Ins. Co. incorporated. [born New Castle.
M.	1640, *Key of Kalmar* starts on 2d expedition to New Sweden.
u.	1865, Delaware General Assembly rejects 13th Amendment of U. S. Constitution.
V.	1796, Bank of Delaware inc. 1864, First Del. Regt. reunited at Stony Mountain.
h.	1857, Young Men's Association for Mutual Improvement incorporated.
.	1866, Gen. Thos. A. Smyth Post No. 1, G. A. R., organized, Wilmington.
a.	1901, Delaware General Assembly ratifies 13th Amendment of U. S. Constitution.
u.	1837, Delaware Academy of Natural Sciences, Wilmington, incorporated.
M.	1808, John Dickinson, "Penman of the Revolution," dies, Wilmington.
u.	1643, Rev. John Campanius and Johan Printz, new Governor of New Sweden,
V.	1829, Dover incorporated as a town. [arrive.
h.	1842, Alfred P. Robinson, Chief Justice, born.
.	1696, King Charles XI of Sweden orders missionaries to Christinahamn.
a.	1789, Nicholas Van Dyke dies, New Castle.
u.	1890, Delaware Hospital opened.
M.	1683, Penn presides in court at New Castle, naturalizing Swedes and Dutch.
u.	1800, Celebration of G. W.'s birthday in Wil. 1822, Brandywine 20 ft. up, floods.
V.	1849, John M. Clayton resigns as Senator, to become U. S. Sec. of State.
h.	1721, John McKinly, first President of Del. State, born, Ireland.
.	1875, New Castle incorporated as a city.
a.	1873, Big Frank, escaped bank burglar (Bank of Del.) captured, Philadelphia.
u.	1918, 1st Delaware Infantry designated 59th Pioneer Infantry.
M.	1861, Artisans' Savings Bank, Wilmington, incorporated.

MARCH

1	Tu.	1814, African School Society organized, Wilmington.
2	W.	1846, Thomas Stockton, Governor of Delaware, dies.
3	Th.	1845, St. Paul's M. E. Church dedicated, 7th and Market, Wilmington.
4	F.	1922, Cornerstone of Wilmington Institute Free Library laid.
5	Sa.	1853, Howard Pyle born, Wil. 1874, D. O. Hastings, Senator, born, Somerset Co.,
6	Su.	1782, Capt. Robt. Kirkwood's company attacks British forces under Tarleton. [Md.
7	M.	1832, Richard H. Bayard, first mayor of Wil. 1849, John M. Clayton, U. S. Sec. of
8	Tu.	1872, Street market removed from Market Street to King Street. [State.
9	W.	1797, Washington lodges at Wilmington on way home after end of 2d term.
10	Th.	1684, General Assembly of Pennsylvania and 3 Lower Counties meets at New Castle.
11	F.	1847, Richard H. Bayard resigns as Brigadier General of Delaware militia.
12	Sa.	1664, Charles II grants Duke of York land from Maine to east side of Del. River.
13	Su.	1659, Day of fasting and prayer ordered at Fort Altena (Fort Christina).
14	M.	1656, *Mercurius,* last Swedish ship, arrives, Fort Altena.
15	Tu.	1781, Capt. Kirkwood's Del. troops fight gallantly and victoriously at Guilford C. H.
16	W.	1812, British warships demand supplies from Lewes–refused. 1831, Charles B. Lore,
17	Th.	1678, Rev. John Yeo comes to New Castle from Md. [Chief Justice, born, Odessa.
18	F.	1642, Gov. Berkeley of Virginia protests Swedes' possession of River.
19	Sa.	1734, Thomas McKean, Signer, born, New London, Pennsylvania.
20	Su.	1867, General Assembly authorizes building of 3rd Street bridge.
21	M.	1830, Duel, Claymont, Miller killed by Hunter. 1890, C. D. Buck, Governor, born,
22	Tu.	1791, Washington lodges at Buck Tavern (Summit Bridge). [Wilmington.
23	W.	1813, Demand by British Commodore Beresford for provisions refused.
24	Th.	1672, Gov. Lovelace meets Indians in peace council in Delaware.
25	F.	1760, Col. S. B. Davis, defender of Lewes in War of 1812, born, Lewes.
26	Sa.	1883, Old Thomas West house, 5th and West St., Wilmington, torn down.
27	Su.	1776, British warship *Roebuck* threatens Lewes.
28	M.	1882, Royal Hand-bell Ringers and Glee Singers of London in concert, Grand Opera
29	Tu.	1638, Minuit and Swedes buy Rocks from Indians. 1867, V. B. Woolley, [House
30	W.	1721, General John Dagworthy born, Trenton, N. J. [jurist, born, Wil.
31	Th.	1778, Caesar Rodney becomes President of Delaware State.



AMERICAN SLOOP WASP BOARDING the FROLIC. Oct. 18, 1812



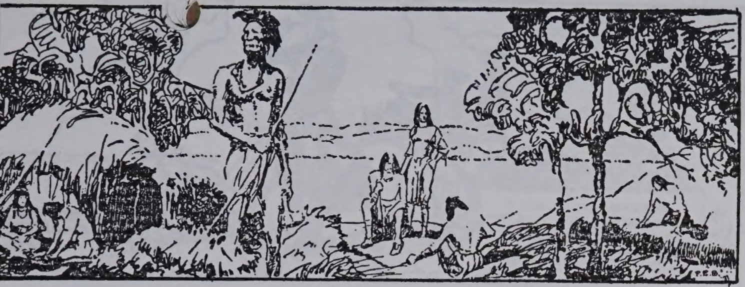
Resisted by American ROW GALLEYS, H.M. Ships ROEBUCK & LIVERPOOL retire down the Delaware. First Naval Engagement of the Revolution. May 8, 1776

APRIL

1	F.	1935, Last street gas-lamp in Wilmington extinguished.
2	Sa.	1846, Pony-express brings news from Phila. to Wilmington, 28 miles, in 1 hr. 20 min
3	Su.	1865, Wilmington celebrates surrender of Richmond, Virginia.
4	M.	1843, New Ark College name changed to Delaware College.
5	Tu.	1808, First bridge across Christina River, at Wilmington, opened.
6	W.	1812, British fleet bombards Lewes—no one hurt.
7	Th.	1812, British attempted landing at Lewes repulsed.
8	F.	1782, Am. sloop of war, *Hyder Alley,* defeats British sloop, *Gen. Monk,* off Henlopen
9	Sa.	1865, Gen. Thos. A. Smyth fatally shot day of Lee's surrender.
10	Su.	1773, Wilmington Academy (Market bet. 8th and 9th) incorporated.
11	M.	1798, Alfred Victor du Pont born, Paris.
12	Tu.	1657, Name of New Amstel changed to New Castle.
13	W.	1846, First electric telegraph operated, Wilmington to Philadelphia.
14	Th.	1789, Chas. Thomson of New Castle certifies Washington's election as Presiden
15	F.	1824, Work begun on Del. and Ches. Canal. 1847, Victories at Buena Vista and Ve
16	Sa.	1861, Demonstration in favor of Union, Old Town Hall, Wil. [Cruz cheered in Wi
17	Su.	1640, *Kalmar Nyckel,* second expedition, arrives Fort Christina.
18	M.	1872, Masonic Temple dedicated, Wilmington.
19	Tu.	1850, John M. Clayton signs Clayton-Bulwer Treaty.
20	W.	1781, Capt. Kirkwood's Del. troops cited for "gallant behavior" in battle.
21	Th.	1813, British land at Little Creek and are repulsed.
22	F.	1873, Flags of Civil War regiments presented to Historical Society of Delaware.
23	Sa.	1864, Benjamin Nields made Lieutenant Colonel "for gallantry."
24	Su.	1784, G. Washington at wedding of Ann Van Dyke and Kensey Johns, New Castl
25	M.	1789, Burgesses of Wil. present address to Washington on his election as Presiden
26	Tu.	1775, News of Lexington reaches Wil. 1824, New Castle devastated by fire.
27	W.	1888, F. O. C. Darley, famous artist, dies, Claymont.
28	Th.	1658, Evert Pieterson, first schoolmaster, arrives New Amstel.
29	F.	1767, Caleb Rodney, Governor of Delaware, born.
30	Sa.	1861, Delaware Blues under Capt. Thos. A. Smyth leave Wilmington for the wa

MAY

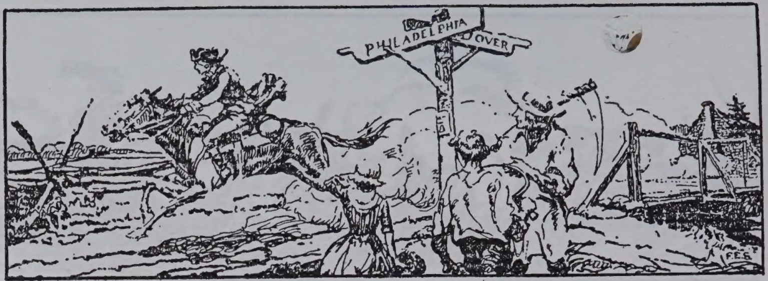
1	Su.	1804, First du Pont powder for sale. 1863, 1st and 2nd Del. Regts. in Battle of
2	M.	1852, Delaware Railroad Company organized. [Chancellorsville.
3	Tu.	1780, Del. battalion Continental Army embarks at Elkton for Southern campaign.
4	W.	1840, George Gray, U. S. Senator and judge, born, New Castle.
5	Th.	1631, Zwaanendael bought from Indians. 1864, Del. regts. in Battle of Wilderness.
6	F.	1638, Kieft, Dutch Gov. of Manhattan, protests Swedes' occupancy of Ft. Christina.
7	Sa.	1677, Duke of York gives Gov. Andros permission to return to England.
8	Su.	1775, Washington lodges in Wil. on way to 2d Continental Congress. 1834, New Ark
9	M.	1776, American galleys fight British warships off Wilmington. [College opened.
10	Tu.	1638, Fort Christina completed. 1865, Capture of Jefferson Davis by Gen. James
11	W.	1864, Three Delaware regiments in Battle of Spottsylvania. [H. Wilson of Del.
12	Th.	1787, Washington lodges in Wil. at O'Flin's tavern, Sign of the Ship, S. E. Cor. 3d
13	F.	1847, Delaware troops start for Mexican War. [and Market.
14	Sa.	1822, Dr. James Tilton, Surgeon Genl. U. S. Army, dies, Wilmington.
15	Su.	1748, French privateer captures Delaware sloop off Cape Henlopen.
16	M.	1648, Rev. John Campanius leaves for Sweden.
17	Tu.	1672, New Castle inc. as a bailiwick. 1750, Lord Hardwicke fixes Del.-Md. boundary.
18	W.	1778, Capt. Allen McLane and his Kent Co. troops set fire to British defenses at
19	Th.	1870, Wilmington Fountain Society organized. [Philadelphia.
20	F.	1735, William Shipley buys land, 2d and Market, Wilmington.
21	Sa.	1654, Swedish Gov. Rising captures Ft. Casimir (New Castle).
22	Su.	1829, Col. Allen McLane dies, buried Asbury Church yard, Wilmington.
3	M.	1864, First Del. Regiment in Battle of North Anna.
4	Tu.	1632, Minuit reports Zwaanendael massacre in Holland.
5	W.	1748, Spanish privateer captures Delaware sloop off Reedy Island.
6	Th.	1875, Walter Hullihen, Pres. Univ. of Del., born, Staunton, Virginia.
7	F.	1654, Gov. Rising announces his arrival to Gov. Stuyvesant.
8	Sa.	1698, Old Swedes' Church corner-stone laid. 1813, Pea Patch Island ceded to U. S.,
9	Su.	1815, Gove Saulsbury, Gov. of Del., born. 1829, Henry du Pont enters [Fort Del.
0	M.	1871, Soldiers Monument unveiled, Del. Ave. and Broom St., Wil. [West Point.
1	Tu.	1871, John G. Townsend, Jr., U. S. Senator, born, Worcester Co., Md.



-⇐ Turkey Tribe *of the Lenni Lenape* Indians ·1602

JUNE

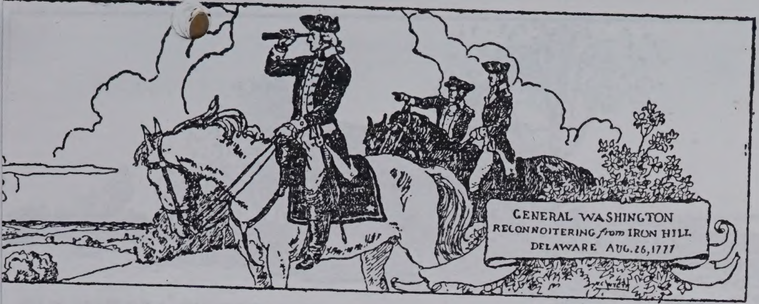
1630,Godyn and Blommaert obtain patent for land at Henlopen.
1820, Willard Saulsbury, Chancellor, born. 1864, Del. troops in Battle of Cold
1936, Ground broken for new Friends School Building, Wilmington. [Harbor.
1842, J. Watson Webb of N. Y. and Thos. F. Marshall of Ky., fight duel at Claymont.
1846, Devastating tornado in Wilmington. 1864, 1st Del. Regiment in Siege of
1806, Grand Lodge of Delaware A. F. & A. M. organized. [Petersburg.
1629, Charter to colonize New Netherland granted by Holland.
1919, 59th Pioneer Infantry, Delaware troops, return from France.
1845, W. Keith and M. Meredith of Phila. in duel at Claymont, both wounded.
1824, Caesar A. Rodney dies, Buenos Aires. 1898, New State Constitution adopted.
1654, Gov. Rising writes Ch. Oxenstierna to find him a good wife and send her over.
1657, G. Van Dyke appointed first sheriff, New Amstel. 1792, Second State Con-
1776, Armed Tories, assembled at Cedar Creek, dispersed. [stitution adopted.
1626, Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, charters 2nd Swedish Exploration Co.
1776, General Assembly assumes temporary authority in name of Three Counties.
1671, First land grant in Kent Co. by Gov. Lovelace to Thomas Young.
1836, Richard H. Bayard elected U. S. Senator.
1781, General Assembly appropriates £7,875, share of national tax.
1812, War declared against Great Britain.
1813, British frigate *Niemen* burns Delaware boats, Indian River.
1813, *Chesapeake,* steamboat on Delaware, initial trip.
1894, Du Pont smokeless powder for sale.
1847, Pres. Polk received in honor in Wil. 1865, Rear Adml. S. F. du Pont dies, Phila.
1771, E. I. du Pont de Nemours born, Paris, France. 1817, Thomas McKean, Signer,
1785, Eleazer McComb suggests borrowing in Holland for State bank. [dies.
1784, Caesar Rodney, Signer, soldier and statesman, dies.
1938, Celebration of the 300th Anniversary of the settlement of Delaware by the
1778, Battle of Monmouth, Delaware troops engaged. [Swedes at Wilmington.
1774, Freeholders meeting, N. C. Co., declares against Boston Port Bill.
1921, Congress ratifies boundary agreement between Del. and Pa.



Caesar Rodney rides *from* Dover *to* Philadelphia ~ *July* 1st 2nd ·1776·

JULY

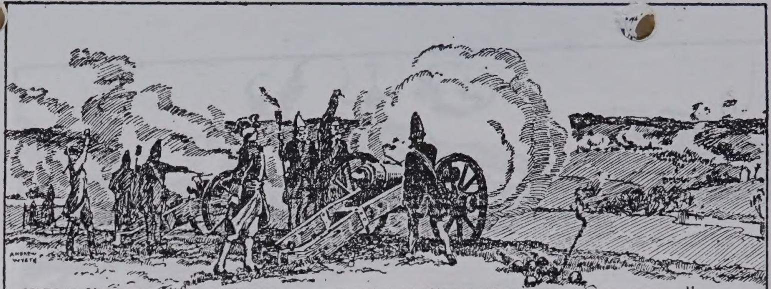
1	F.	1776, Caesar Rodney rides to Philadelphia.
2	Sa.	1776, Rodney and McKean cast Delaware vote for Independence.
3	Su.	1775, Washington takes command of Continental Army at Cambridge, Mass.
4	M.	1776, Declaration of Independence adopted. 1875, Philip Cook, Bishop, born,
5	Tu.	1776, Picture of George III burned of Dover Green. [Kansas City, Mo.
6	W.	1709, French privateers attempt to land at Lewes.
7	Th.	1690, Provincial Council commissions Peter Alrichs judge, Supreme Court.
8	F.	1813, Wilmington branch of Farmers' Bank opened.
9	Sa.	1779, Articles of Confederation signed by T. McKean, J. Dickinson and N. Van
10	Su.	1781, Thomas McKean chosen President of the Congress. [Dyke for Delaware.
11	M.	1697, Rev. Eric Biorck preaches first sermon at Cranehook Church.
12	Tu.	1747, Privateers plunder houses in New Castle. 1835, Wm. P. Bancroft born, Wil-
13	W.	1805, Oliver Evans, Delaware inventor, completes his steam-wagon. [mington.
14	Th.	1867, Wilmington street-cars begin running on Sunday, for churchgoers only.
15	F.	1812, Revolutionary veterans organize for home defense, Wilmington.
16	Sa.	1862, Commodore S. F. du Pont made Rear Admiral.
17	Su.	1736, First public market held in Wilmington.
18	M.	1864, Delaware called on for 2445 soldiers by President Lincoln.
19	Tu.	1651, Stuyvesant buys land on Delaware River for Dutch from Indians.
20	W.	1592, Johan Printz born, Bottnaryd, Sweden.
21	Th.	1813, James A. Bayard, Commissioner for peace with England, arrives, St. Peters-
22	F.	1829, Banquet to Louis McLane, Minister to England, Old Town Hall, Wil. [burg.
23	Sa.	1774, Sussex Co. freeholders at Lewes protest taxation without representation.
24	Su.	1796, John M. Clayton born, Dagsboro.
25	M.	1825, Lafayette revisits Wil. and Chadds Ford, spends night with E. I. du Pont de Ne-
26	Tu.	1644, Klas Fleming, organizer New Sweden Co., killed in war with Denmark. [mours.
27	W.	1654, Stuyvesant writes to Holland of capture of Fort Casimir by Swedes.
28	Th.	1764, Wil. Borough Council declares quarantine against "sickly persons," penalty £10.
29	F.	1813, Delaware flotilla of galleys attack two British warships, Delaware River.
30	Sa.	1658, William Beeckman appointed Commissary at Ft. Altena.
31	Su.	1837, First railroad train runs from Baltimore to Wilmington.



GENERAL WASHINGTON RECONNOITERING *from* IRON HILL DELAWARE AUG. 26, 1777

AUGUST

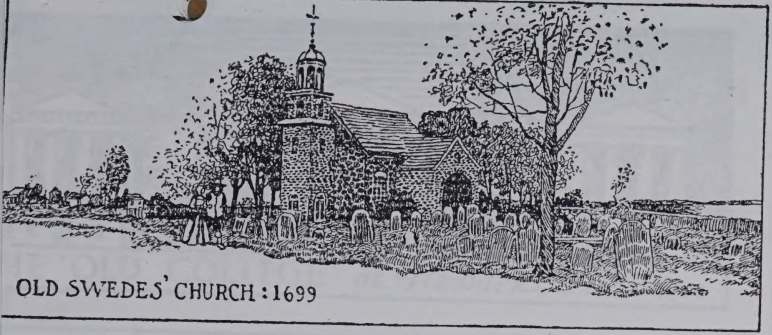
1774, Delegates to Cont. Congress elected. 1879, D. J. Layton, Ch. Justice, born.
1776, Declaration of Independence signed by Rodney, Read and McKean for Dela.
1804, Thomas Macdonough commissioned Lieutenant for bravery at Tripoli under
1795, Town meeting, Wilmington, to protest against Jay's treaty. [Decatur.
1863, Draft for Civil War, Delaware's quota 3,430. 1889, Henry du Pont dies.
1815, James A. Bayard dies. 1817, Pierre S. du Pont de Nemours dies.
1780, Benj. Ferris, historian, born, Wil. 1868, J. P. Nields, Federal judge, born, Wil.
1746, Col. Allen McLane born, Phila. 1812, Gen. Henry du Pont born, Eleutherean
1778, First State seal received by Gov. Rodney. [Mills
1795, Washington breakfasts at Elkton, dines at New Castle, lodges in Wilmington.
1703, Inhabitants of New Castle petition Bishop of London for English clergyman.
1813, Dr. James Tilton appointed Surgeon General of U. S. Army.
1862, Four companies of cavalry authorized in Delaware for Civil War.
1656, Stuyvesant sends orders to Swedes at Christinahamn and above.
1642, Johan Printz commissioned Governor of New Sweden.
1780, Delaware battalion nearly annihilated at Camden, S. C.
1795, Bank of Delaware opened for deposits.
1737, Geo. II of England orders Md. and Pa. to cease hostilities over boundaries.
1812, *Constitution-Guerriere* fight; Lieut. W. S. Bush killed leading boarding party.
1874, Mass meeting of unemployed asks building of reservoir, Wil., relief measure.
789, Thomas Garrett, famous Abolitionist, born, Upper Darby, Pa.
848, Banquet in Old Town Hall for soldiers returning from Mexican War.
857, Alexis du Pont fatally injured in explosion.
682, William Penn obtains grant of Three Lower Counties from Duke of York.
776, Del. troops at Long Island last to leave field. 1777, British Army lands at Head
777, American Army arrives Wil., Washington reconnoitres at Iron Hill. [of Elk.
776, Convention to set up Delaware as State convened at New Castle.
609, Delaware Bay discovered by Henry Hudson.
918, 59th Pioneer Infantry, Delaware regiment, embarks for Brest, France.
682, William Penn sails from England in *Welcome* for New Castle.
898, Corse Payton Co.–10, 20, 30–in "Camille," Grand Opera House, Wilmington.



GENERAL KNYPHAUSEN'S ARTILLERY *at the* BATTLE OF THE BRANDYWINE SEPTEMBER 11th 1777

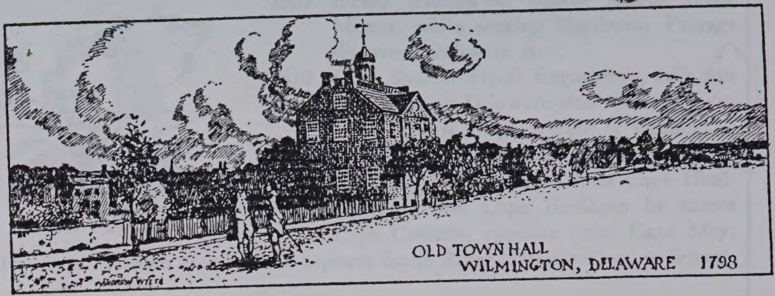
SEPTEMBER

1	Th.	1923, First unit Wilmington Marine Terminal complete.
2	F.	1846, Daniel Rodney, Governor of Delaware, dies, Lewes.
3	Sa.	1766, Howe's army marches north from Elkton; skirmish at Cooch's Bridge.
4	Su.	1659, Stuyvesant reports New Amstel in "deplorable and low state" fears complete
5	M.	1774, Rodney, McKean and Read at Continental Congress, Philadelphia. [ruin.
6	Tu.	1655, Stuyvesant's fleet and army arrive in Delaware River.
7	W.	1918, 59th Pioneer Infantry, Delaware regt., disembarks at Brest, France.
8	Th.	1781, Kirkwood's Delaware troops in Battle at Eutaw Springs.
9	F.	1777, Washington's army leaves Wilmington for Chadd's Ford.
10	Sa.	1832, First trip of locomotive-drawn train, New Castle & Frenchtown R. R.
11	Su.	1777, Brandywine Battle: Maj. Lewis Bush killed. 1814, Macdonough defeats British,
12	M.	1777, British occupy Wil., capture John McKinly, Pres. of Del. [Lake Champlain.
13	Tu.	1755, Oliver Evans, inventor, born, Newport, Delaware.
14	W.	1663, Dutch West India Co. cedes Ft. Altena (Christina) to City of Amsterdam.
15	Th.	1655, Fort Christina surrendered to Stuyvesant.
16	F.	1776, Continental Congress fixes Del. quota for Continental Army at 800 men.
17	Sa.	1862, Del. regiments in Battle of Antietam. Two Confederate spies arrested, Wil.
18	Su.	1733, George Read born, Cecil Co. Maryland.
19	M.	1787, Washington "baited at Wilmington, dined at Christiana Bridge."
20	Tu.	1776, Delaware adopts first State constitution.
21	W.	1798, George Read dies. 1861, L. Heisler Ball, Senator, born.
22	Th.	1676, Courts in each of the Three Counties established by English.
23	F.	1796, Richard H. Bayard, first mayor of Wilmington, born, New Castle County.
24	Sa.	1795, Henry Pepper opens first night-school.
25	Su.	1738, Nicholas Van Dyke, President of Delaware, born, New Castle.
26	M.	1731, Thomas Willing buys land to lay out Willingtown.
27	Tu.	1803, Rear Admiral S. F. du Pont born, Bergen Point, New Jersey.
28	W.	1898, Thomas F. Bayard statesman and jurist, dies, Wilmington.
29	Th.	1902, Committee of Wilmington City Council meets to consider new City Charter.
30	F.	1793, George Read appointed Chief Justice.


OLD SWEDES' CHURCH: 1699

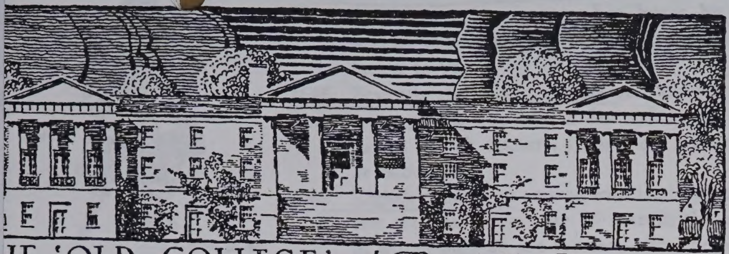
OCTOBER

1664, New Amstel (New Castle) captured by English under Sir Robt. Carr.
1849, Rockland Cotton Mill on Brandywine burned.
1739, Rev. George Whitefield preaches in Lewes.
1776, Del. troops in Battle of Germantown; Col. David Hall wounded.
1803, William Killen, Chancellor, dies.
1824, Lafayette attends wedding of Dorcas Van Dyke and Chas. I. du Pont, New
1728, Caesar Rodney born, near Dover. [Castle.
1785, First Baptist Society organized, Wilmington.
1841, Hance Naff, old Revolutionary soldier, dies, Wilmington.
1882, Richard S. Rodney, jurist and historian, born, New Castle.
1655, Gov. Rising leaves Ft. Christina. End of New Sweden.
1880, Lammot du Pont, president du Pont Co., born, Wilmington.
1817, George P. Fisher, U. S. District Judge, born.
1905, Porter Reservoir, Wilmington, completed.
1862, President Lincoln annuls draft in Delaware.
1813, Wilmington illuminated in honor of victory, Battle of Thames.
1829, Delaware & Chesapeake Canal opened.
1812, Capt. Jacob Jones of Del., sloop *Wasp*, captures British sloop *Frolic*.
1781, Delaware troops at surrender at Yorktown.
1777, Legislature meets first time in Dover. 1861, First Del. regt. leaves for front.
1776, Col. Haslet's Delaware troops defeat Rogers's Tories at Mamaroneck.
1699, Sven Colberg engaged as schoolmaster at Christinahamn.
1776, First General Assembly of State elected.
1772, Second Presbyterian Church dedicated, Wilmington.
1900, Wm. Jennings Bryan, candidate for Presidency, addresses two meetings, Wil.
1850, Commodore Jacob Jones buried, Wilmington and Brandywine Cemetery.
1682, Wm. Penn in ship *Welcome*, arrives at New Castle.
1682, Penn takes possession by delivery of "turf and twig, water and soil."
1828, Thomas F. Bayard, U. S. Senator and 1st Ambassador to England, born, Wil.
1764, John Vining appointed Chief Justice. 1854, George A. Elliott born.
1877, Josiah O. Wolcott, U. S. Senator and Chancellor, born, Dover.


OLD TOWN HALL
WILMINGTON, DELAWARE 1798

NOVEMBER

1 Tu. 1797, Yellow fever epidemic in Wilmington at an end.
2 W. 1640, 3rd Swedish expedition arrives, Fort Christina. 1682, Penn convenes first court,
3 Th. 1818, Singing-school opened, "stone schoolhouse," Brandywine village. [New Castle.
4 F. 1791, Major Robert Kirkwood killed in Battle of Miami.
5 Sa. 1842, John M. Clayton supports candidacy of Henry Clay in meeting, Old Town
6 Su. 1781, John Dickinson elected 3rd President of Delaware State. [Hall.
7 M. 1861, Rear Admiral S. F. du Pont in command, Battle of Port Royal.
8 Tu. 1656, New Castle elects first town officers.
9 W. 1682, Weekly public markets ordered held, New Castle. 1856, John M. Clayton dies,
10 Th. 1624, Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, charters Swedish South Sea Co. [Dover.
11 F. 1758, Capt. Caleb P. Bennett born, Chester Co., Pa.
12 Sa. 1682, Court held at New Castle.
13 Su. 1732, John Dickinson, Pres. of Del. State, born, Md. 1804, James A. Bayard elected
14 M. 1873, 2nd Fall trotting-meeting at Schuetzen Park. [U. S. Senator.
15 Tu. 1873, Robert H. Richards, Attorney General, born, Georgetown.
16 W. 1739, Borough charter granted Wilmington, name changed from Willingtown.
17 Th. 1750, Commissioners meet, New Castle, to determine boundaries of Delaware.
18 F. 1682, Wm. Penn issues writs for election of deputies to General Assembly.
19 Sa. 1781, Gov. John Dickinson proclaims day of thanksgiving and prayer.
20 Su. 1677, Magistrates appointed for Sussex County.
21 M. 1848, Gov. Tharp proclaims day of public thanksgiving.
22 Tu. 1813, Delaware Bible Society organized, Wilmington.
23 W. 1833, Wilmington Whaling Campany organized.
24 Th. 1796, John M. Clayton born, Dagsboro. 1843, Edgar Allan Poe lectures, Wilmington
25 F. 1873, Illustrated lecture, Grand Opera House, by Thomas Nast, famous cartoonis
26 Sa. 1823, Leonard E. Wales, U. S. District Judge, born, Wilmington.
27 Su. 1837, Trains begin service on Wilmington & Susquehanna R. R.
28 M. 1813, "Elegant supper" at Smith's Hotel, Wilmington, for Henry Clay.
29 Tu. 1655, J. P. Jacquett made Dutch Vice Director at New Castle.
30 W. 1776, First Delaware Continental Line troops mustered in, Dover.

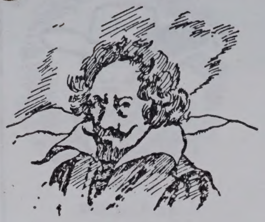


HE 'OLD COLLEGE' at Newark, Delaware:

DECEMBER

325, Commodore Thomas Macdonough buried at Middletown, Connecticut.
331, New State constitution adopted.
374, Buffalo Bill in "Scouts of the Plains," Grand Opera House, Wilmington.
302, Vestry of Old Swedes Church resolve to build tower and belfry.
45, Fort New Gothenburg (Tinicum) burned.
32, De Vries arrives, Zwaanendael (Lewes), finds colony destroyed.
787, Delaware ratifies United States Constitution, "First State."
78, Site of Middletown first surveyed.
779, Thanksgiving Day in Delaware.
782, Trial of Cheney Clow, Tory leader.
56, Delaware R.R.opened to Seaford. 1863, T. Coleman du Pont, born, Louisville, [Ky.
30, De Vries Dutch expedition sails from Holland for Delaware Bay.
36, Siamese Twins exhibited in Wil. 1862, Del. regts. in Battle of Fredericksburg.
82, First Genl. Assembly of Pa. and Three Lower Counties meets, Chester.
75, Gov. Edmund Andros grants Duck Creek land to Peter Bayard.
83, George Washington received by Burgesses of Wilmington.
17, New steamboat, *Superior*, begins daily trips, Phila. to Balto. via Wilmington.
90, U. S. Letters Patent, No. 3, granted to Oliver Evans of Newark.
77, Delaware and Maryland troops go into winter-quarters in Wilmington.
07, Company to bridge Christina at Market St., Wilmington, incorporated.
77, Del. troops encamped, Wil., Lovering Ave. 1876, Irenee du Pont, born, Wil- [mington.
21, Female Bible Society organized, Wilmington.
34, Thomas Macdonough, victor in Battle of Lake Champlain, born.
14, Treaty of Ghent signed by James A. Bayard, one of U. S. commissioners.
5, Fort Casimir reported "decayed in its walls and batteries."
76, Del. troops in Battle of Trenton. 1848, Barnum exhibits Gen. Tom Thumb in [Wil.
9, Masonic "funeral procession," in honor of Washington.
78, Richard H. Bayard, first Mayor of Wilmington, buried, Wil. and Brandywine [Cemetery.
7, Eli Saulsbury, U. S. Senator, born, Dover.
32, Letters of marque issued to Capt. T. Robinson, brigantine, *Polly*, of Wil.
75, Maj. J. MacPherson of Del. killed, Quebec. 1791, Del. adopts 1st State Con- [stitution.

Chronicle



Henry Hudson

1609 *Henry Hudson* in *Haelve Maene* (Half Moon), while seeking Northwest Passage discovers Delaware Bay.

1610 *Capt. Samuel Argall,* Englishman, sails into Bay, names it Delaware after *Thomas West, Lord de la Warre,* Governor of Virginia.

1614 *Capt. Cornelis Mey* from Manhattan enters Bay, names Fenwick's Island Cape Hindlopen, present Cape Henlopen he names Cape Cornelis, opposite point Cape Mey.

1615 *Capt. Cornelis Hendricksen* explores South River (Delaware) up to Schuylkill.

1621 Dutch West India Co. chartered for trading and colonizing in America.

1623 *Capt. Mey* sails up Prince Hendricks River (Delaware), builds Dutch trading post, Fort Nassau, site of Gloucester, N. J.

1629 Holland grants land at Cape Henlopen to *S. Blommaert, S. Godyn, David de Vries* and associates, giving them title of Patroons.

1631 *Capt. Peter Heyes* makes settlement at Zwaanendael on Hoorn Kill (Lewes Creek), 28 men.

1632 *Capt. David Pieterssen De Vries* comes to Zwaanendael, finds colony destroyed, settlers massacred by Indians.

1637 New Sweden Company organized in Sweden. First expedition in *Kalmar Nyckel* (Key of Kalmar) and *Fogel Grip* (Bird Griffin) sails from Gothenburg, Sweden.

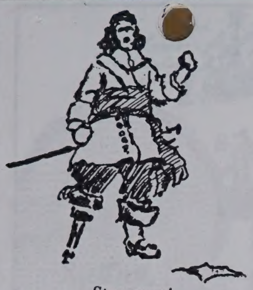
1638 Expedition under command of *Peter Minuit* arrives in Minquas Kill (Christina River), disembarks at The Rocks, builds Fort Christina, names river Christina Kill. Colony consists of 23 men, *Capt. Mans Kling, Hendrick Huygen* commissary. *This was the first permanent settlement of white men in Delaware and the entire Delaware River Valley.*

1640 Two more expeditions arrive, with *Peter Hollandaer* as Governor of the colony, *Rev. Reorus Torkillus,* the first clergyman, and a few involuntary immigrants.

1641 Fourth expedition arrives, with *Herr Christoffer,* a clergyman and 35 colonists including a number of Finns.

1643 Fifth Swedish expedition arrives with *Lt. Col. Johan Printz,* new Governor, *Rev. John Campanius* and more involuntary immigrants. *Printz* builds Fort Elfsborg at Varckens Kill, N. J., Fort New Gothenburg at Tinicum, Pa. and a blockhouse at Upland (Chester), establishes a tobacco plantation on the Schuylkill; population now 118. First law court held at Tinicum.

The Half Moon



Stuyvesant

1644 Sixth Swedish expedition arrives with more involuntary immigrants, but losses by death and by those returning to Sweden reduce population to 98.

1646 Seventh Swedish expedition arrives, with trade-goods, but only a few colonists. *Printz* expels Dutch settlers, from New Amsterdam, at Schuylkill.

1648 Eighth expedition arrives with trade-goods, but few settlers. Now only 79 men in the colony, of whom only 28 are farmers—but the Swedes control the River.

1649 Ship *Kattan* (The Cat), bringing supplies and settlers, wrecked near Porto Rico.

1651 *Gov. Pieter Stuyvesant* of New Amsterdam sends fleet of 11 ships to the River, marches overland with 120 soldiers, occupies Sandhook (New Castle), builds and garrisons Fort Casimir there. Dutch thus control the River.

1653 *Printz* resigns governorship, returns to Sweden. 36 families at Casimir; population of New Sweden decreasing.

1654 Many Swedish settlers arrive, with *Johan Rising* as Governor. He takes Fort Casimir from Dutch. Population of New Sweden now 368. More land cleared, new farms established, first roads made, a village, Christianahamn, laid out behind Fort Christina. Fort Casimir, now Fort Trefaldighet, garrisoned by Swedes. Swedes now control River. Tenth Swedish expedition misses Delaware Bay, arrives at Manhattan and is seized by Stuyvesant.

1655 *Stuyvesant* returns with 7 armed ships and 300 soldiers. Fort Trefaldighet's little garrison surrenders; it becomes again Fort Casimir. The Dutch then besiege Fort Christina and burn Christinahamn. After 12 days the fort is surrendered. The Dutch hold all the River. *So ends New Sweden.*

1656 Ship *Mercurius* from Sweden arrives with 110 new settlers. *Jean Paul Jacquet,* Dutch Vice-Director of the colony, refuses permission to land, but they disembark at Tinicum.

1657 The colony is divided. Fort Casimir and the town beside it, New Amstel, become seat of government for territory below Christina, Fort Christina, now Fort Altena, for northern part. *Jacob Alrichs,* new Director, with 125 Dutch settlers, including *Evert Pietersen,* first schoolmaster, arrives at New Amstel, now the metropolis of the Delaware with "about 100 houses".

1658 Trading post established at Hoorn Kill (Lewes).

1659 Dissatisfaction, hunger and disease depopulate New Amstel. Scarcely 30 families remain. *Lord Baltimore* claims ownership of western shore of Delaware. *Stuyvesant* sends *Augustine Herrman* and *Resolved Waldron* to discuss the matter with *Gov. Fendall* of Maryland, without satisfactory results.

Fort Casimir

William Penn

1662 *Peter Plockhoy* from Holland establishes Mennonite colony at Cape Henlopen.

1663 Upper colony, above Christina River, still Swedish in character, with a population of about 700, mostly farmers, "110 good farms". The two colonies are politically consolidated.

1664 *Charles II* grants land in America, from Maine to New Jersey inclusive, to his brother *James, Duke of York.* English fleet takes New Amsterdam. Two ships, under *Sir Robert Carr,* come down to Delaware River and take possession of upper colony without resistance. Fort Casimir resists. After two broadsides from the ships, English storm and capture the fort, 3 Dutch killed, 10 wounded; name changed to New Castle. English hold all the River. *Carr* "destroys quaking colony of *Plockhoy* to a naile".

1667 *Sir Francis Lovelace* Governor of *Duke of York's* territory, *Carr* deputy governor of Delaware colony.

1669 *Konigsmark,* "the Long Finn", attempts insurrection against English rule; transported to Barbadoes.

1671 Indian malefactor shot and hung in chains in New Castle.

1673 Courts established at Upland, New Castle and Hoorn Kill. War between England and Holland; Dutch fleet re-takes New York; Delaware colonies submit.

1674 Treaty of Westminster returns New York and the Delaware to English. *So ends Dutch rule on the River. Duke of York* appoints *Sir Edmund Andros* as Governor of New York and its Dependencies, including Delaware territory.

1676 New Castle offers bounty of 40 guilders for wolf heads. *Duke of York's* Code of Laws formally promulgated by *Andros.*

1680 Hoornkill County divided into St. Jones County (Kent) and Deal County (Sussex). First Court for St. Jones County held. Erection of log Courthouse at Hoornkill (Lewes) authorized, to cost 5000 pounds of tobacco.

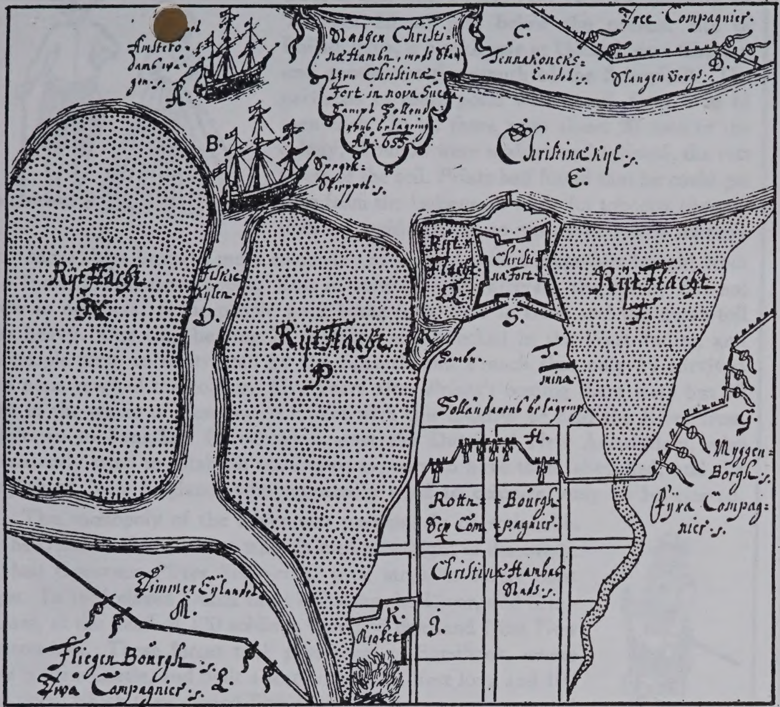
1681 Pennsylvania granted to *William Penn* by *King Charles II.*

1682 *Duke of York* grants Delaware Counties to *Penn. Penn* arrives in ship *Welcome* at New Castle, October 27th, receives possession by tokens of turf and twig, water and soil. His deputy, *William Markham,* similarly receives possession of two lower counties. First General Assembly of "Province of Pennsylvania and Three Lower Counties on the Delaware" meets at Upland. Penn gives present names to Kent and Sussex.

1684 *Col. George Talbot,* on behalf of *Lord Baltimore,* claiming Three Lower Counties, builds small fort near present town of Christiana. Population of Three Lower Counties about 4,000.

1688 Kent County Court removed to "*James Maxwell's* ordinary", site of Dover.

1689 Immanuel Episcopal Church, New Castle, founded.

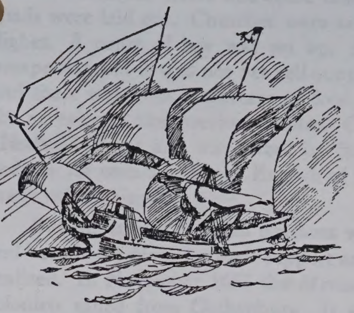


Fort Christina Under Siege By Stuyvesant

This plan, drawn by the Swedish engineer, *Pehr Martensson Lindestrom,* shows Fort Christina (S) and the village Christinahamn (I) as they appeared in 1655 during the siege of the fort by the Dutch under *Pieter Stuyvesant,* governor of Manhattan. Two of the Dutch ships, the *Waag* (A) and the *Spegel* (B) are shown anchored at the mouth of Fiske Kyl (Brandywine, O). Surrounding the fort are the siege-works; an earthwork (D) on Tennaconck's land (C), across Christina Kyl or River (E), with 4 guns manned by 3 companies, and other batteries of logs, Mosquitoburg (G) with 6 guns and 4 companies, Ratburg (H) with 6 guns and 6 companies, and Flyburg (L) on Timber Island (M), with 4 guns and 2 companies. These were so named by the Dutch according to the pests peculiar to each. In advance of these appear a mine (T) and in the rear the Dutchmen's kitchen (K). The little harbor (R) is to be seen at the left of the fort.

The plan shows the strategic value of the position of Fort Christina at that time, close to the end of a tongue of fast land terminating at the Rocks, a natural wharf, and flanked by marshes (N, P, Q, F). The river having since been bulkheaded and the marshes filled in, these strategic advantages have disappeared.

The Swedish Settlement

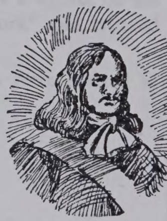

"Kalmar Nyckel"

The Dutch were first [illegible] the River. In 1609 *Henry Hudson,* captain of the *Haelve Maene* (Half Moon) sent out by the Dutch East Company to find the Northwest Passage, discovered Delaware Bay and later found the river named for him. On Manhattan Island Dutchmen set up a trading-post. They explored the Delaware and did a bit of fur-trading there, but made no effort at colonization until 1631, when they established 28 men at Zwaanendael (Lewes). As a result of bad judgment in dealing with the Indians, these colonists were massacred.

No further effort at colonization was made until 1638, when two Swedish ships, *Kalmar Nyckel,* (Key of Kalmar) and *Vogel Grip* (Bird Griffin) landed 23 soldiers and two officers on a ledge of rocks on the banks of a river, which they named Christina after their queen. The country they called New Sweden. They built a fort of palisades and earth and settled themselves for an indefinite stay. This was the beginning of the first permanent settlement of white men in Delaware and in the whole Delaware Valley.

Other expeditions, bringing supplies and new colonists from Sweden, followed. In 1640 came the second with the first governor, *Peter Hollandaer,* the first clergyman, *Rev. Reorus Torkillus,* and a few others. About 35 more came in 1641 and brought with them horses, sheep, cattle and hogs. New houses were built outside of the fort, more ground was cleared for farming and a grist-windmill was set up.

In 1643 two ships came with more supplies and settlers, also a new governor *Lt. Col. Johan Printz.* For 10 years he ruled New Sweden with despotic power. Military leader, as well as civil governor, law-giver, chief judge and head executive, far removed from the home government, he was supreme in the colony. Physically he was "a man of brave size, who weighed over 400 pounds". He was great in other ways, an intelligent man, a brave soldier, a strict disciplinarian, a shrewd manager, an able administrator. He had the faults of his qualities, he was headstrong, tyrannical, rough, violent, overbearing, arrogant and arbitrary. He ruled the colony with a heavy hand, his dictatorial ways giving just cause for dissatisfaction among the colonists. But he swept the River clear of his Dutch competitors and kept off English would-be intruders. For eight years New Sweden was true Swedish territory.


Gov. Printz

He started at once on his arrival to extend his domain. He built Fort Elfsborg on the eastern side of the River at

what is now Mill Creek, Fort New Gothenburg on Tinicum Island just below the present site of Philadelphia, a blockhouse at Upland, now Chester, and another at the mouth of the Schuylkill. The garrisons of these posts were small, from 8 to 12 men each. In all there were about 90 men in the colony, about 50 were soldiers and artisans, the rest tillers of the soil. *Printz* had found that he could get corn from the Indians, in trade for tobacco, cheaper than he could raise it, so mostly he raised tobacco.

More ships brought more colonists and carried back beaver-furs bought from the Indians with trade-goods. But, in spite of fresh arrivals, the colony did not grow in numbers. Some people went home from time to time, and the death-toll was heavy. One ship bearing 70 colonists was wrecked in the West Indies, and ts people were so maltreated by the Spanish and French that only 19 survived and none reached the colony. Five years after *Printz's* coming there were but 79 nen in the whole of New Sweden. Yet with this handful he held the River from Henlopen to Sankikan (Trenton) against the Dutch of New Amsterdam, who ersistently tried to establish trading-posts, only to have them abolished, and the English of New England, who repeatedly tried to colonize, only to be ejected.

This monopoly of the River was particularly objectionable o the Dutch on Manhattan, who claimed it by right of discovery. At last *Governor Pieter Stuyvesant* took steps to assert their right. In 1651 eleven Dutch ships sailed up the River, and *Stuyvesant,* at the head of 120 soldiers, marched overland from New Amsterdam. These forces took possession of Sandhook, where ow is New Castle, and built a fortification 200 feet long and 100 eet deep, which they named Fort Casimir. Its guns commanded he channel of the River and no ship could pass it without leave.

Printz had not the force to expel these intruders and so for two years the verlordship of the River was divided between the two nations. In 1653 he resigned is office and sailed for Sweden. In the next year came two ships with a new overnor, *Johan Rising,* 50 soldiers and 250 colonists. With this show of force the wedes took Casimir without resistance, renaming it Fort Trefaldighet (Trinity) nd New Sweden again held the whole River.

A population of 368 men, women and hildren demanded new houses; so a village, Christinahamn, was built behind the fort. Land was allotted to the new settlers above and below Christina. Cattle were bought from the English of Virginia and distributed among them. The forts were strengthened and new cannon mounted. More and more land was cleared, fields were fe[illegible]d, the first [illegible]oads were laid out. Churches were established at Upland, Christin[illegible]nd Trefaldighet. A court of law was set up. Altogether New Sweden was impressively prospering, but it was not yet self-supporting. Supplies of all kinds were lacking, and there was even a shortage of food. In 1655 the grain crop failed because of the severity of the previous winter. One supply-ship blundered into the North (Hudson) River and was seized by *Stuyvesant.* The colony had to look to the Indians for corn and to the English of Maryland and Virginia for provisions and many other things.

But the sturdy Swedish peasants were digging themselves in for a long stay, and back home plans for their support and for additions to their number were being realized. In November 1655 the *Mercurius* with abundant supplies and 110 new colonists sailed from Gothenburg. It seemed that New Sweden's troubles were over, its permanence assured. But before *Mercurius* reached the Delaware New Sweden had disappeared from the map.

Forts at the Rocks

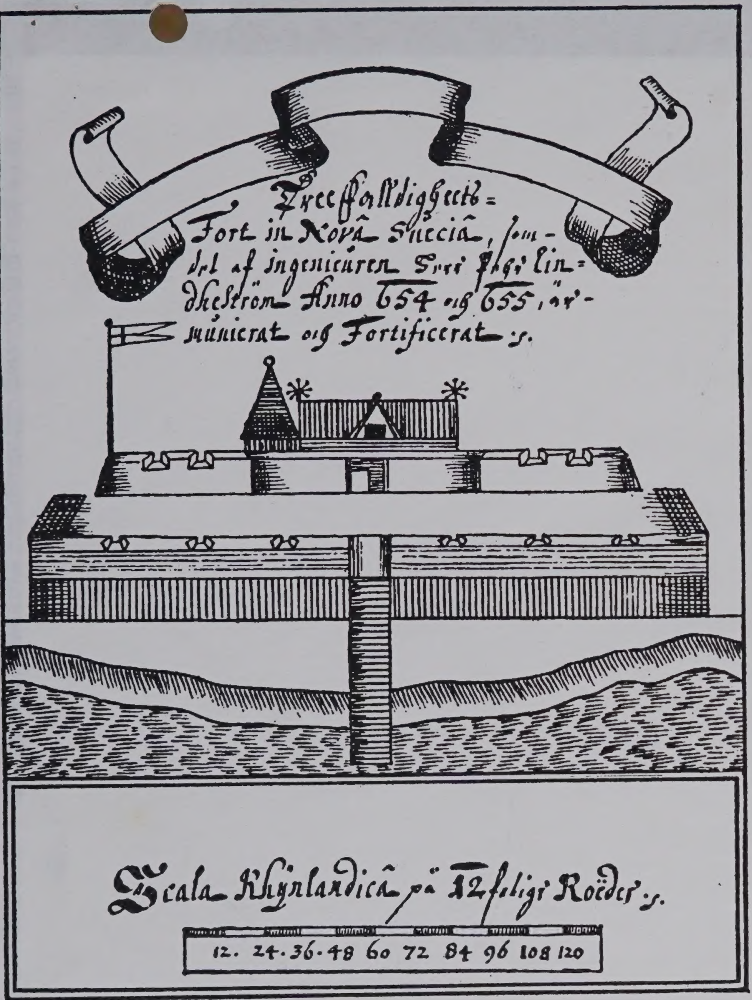
The Rocks on the Christina River are of historical interest and importance, not only because they were the landing place of the first Swedish settlers and the site of their first fort. They also figure largely in the subsequent history of Delaware.

During the war between Great Britain and France, 1744-1748, a part of the War of the Austrian Succession, known in America as King George's War, many French and Spanish privateers attacked the shipping in the Delaware River. To defend Wilmington a "bomb-proof battery and magazine" was built at the Rocks under the direction of *David* and *Charles Bush* and *John McKinly,* who was afterwards the first president of the Delaware State. They proudly reported that it equalled, if not exceeded, "any on the continent for strength and beauty".

At the outbreak of the Revolution, these defnsive works were rebuilt and manned by a company of soldiers.

Again, in the War of 1812, the earthworks were rebuilt and mounted with cannon. In this work *Hon. James A. Bayard,* then U. S. Senator, was personally active. Clad in the "garb of a laborer, with ditcher's boots, and a shovel on his shoulder, he marched with the mass to achieve their muddy work" and labored with the others to restore the redoubt.

Yet again, during The Civil War in 1864, defensive works were erected at the Rocks and called Fort Union.


Treefalldigheets=
Fort in Novâ Sueciâ, som-
del af ingenieuren Peer Pehr Lin=
dheström Anno 654 och 655, är-
minierat och Fortificerat :/.
Scala Rhijnlandicâ på 12 fotige Roeder :/.
12. 24. 36. 48 60 72 84 96 108 120

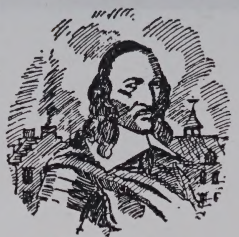
Fort Casimir

after its capture by the Swedes in 1653,

drawn by Pehr Lindestrom.

A view of Fort Trefaldighet (Trinity), so called by the Swedes, but by the Dutch, who built it, called Fort Casimir, on the Delaware River in front of the present site of New Castle.

The Dutch Conquest



Pieter Stuyvesant

News of the capture of Fort Casimir by the Swedes in 1653 vastly astonished and profoundly disturbed the folks at home in old Amsterdam. Hitherto, though irritated by the high-handed conduct of *Governor Printz* in ejecting their fur-traders from the River, the Dutch had abstained from any retaliatory acts of violence. Even when *Stuyvesant* with his overwhelming force had come to the River two years before, he had not attacked Fort Christina. Its capture would have been easy, but the Dutch had a decent respect for the Swedish nation, which, under the great *Gustavus* in the Thirty Year War, had proved its military strength, strutting as cock-of-the-walk all over middle Europe. Therefore *Stuyvesant* had merely built Fort Casimir, a very gentle reprisal. But now stern measures were indicated.

In the streets of old Amsterdam drums beat up recruits. Two hundred were embarked in the warship *Waag,* and sailed for Manhattan. To this force *Stuyvesant* added six armed ships and with over 300 fighting men, soldiers and sailors, set out for the River.

On September 8th, 1655, he anchored above Fort Trefaldighet and posted 50 men below Christina to cut off communication between the two forts. The rest he landed at Trefaldighet and demanded its surrender. There was but a handful of soldiers in the fort; compliance with his demand was inevitable. So Trefaldighet became Casimir once more.

Then *Stuyvesant* went for Christina. Guns were landed and three entrenched batteries established about the Fort on its land-side. The armed ships were anchored at the mouth of Fiske Kill (Brandywine), thus the Fort was regularly besieged.

For 10 days the beleaguered garrison held out, no shot being fired on either side, although the Dutch burned Christinahamn and plundered the farms roundabout. But here again there was no possibility of real resistance. The Fort was surrendered and renamed Altena. So new Sweden disappeared.

But not the Swedes. They at least, were permanent. Though the Dutch now set up their government at Casimir and required the Swedes to swear allegiance to it, there was little interference with them, and from Christina up the River the Swedes lived on, under a sort of extra-legal little government of their own.

72

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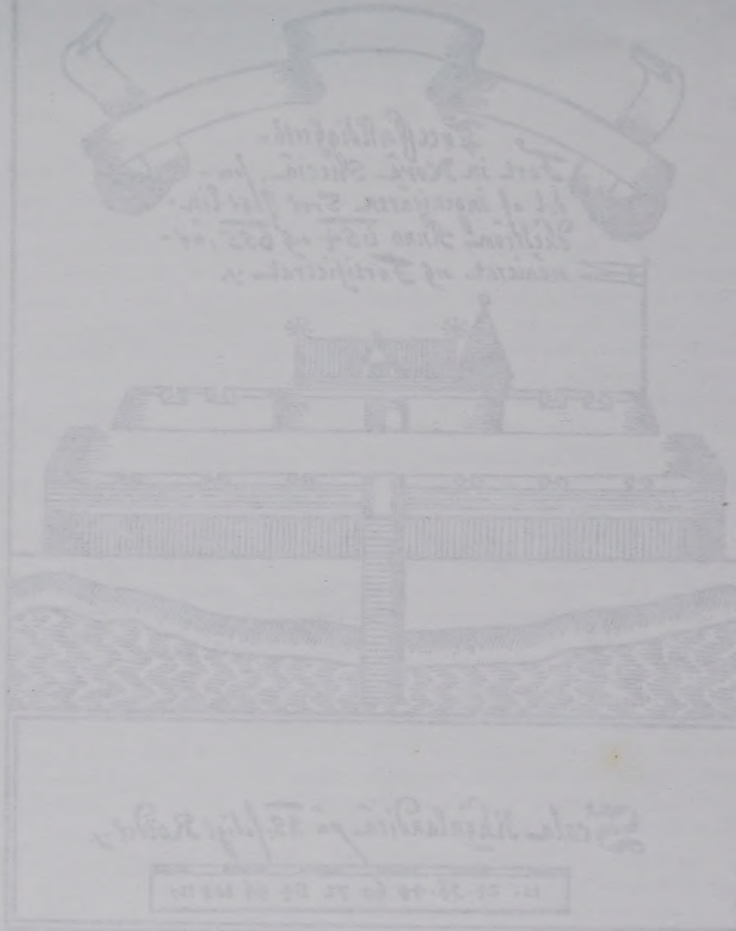

Fort Casimir

after its capture by the Swedes in 1654,

drawn by Peter Lindeström.

a view of Fort Trefaldighet (Trinity), so called by the Swedes, but by the

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THE SWEDISH SETTLEMENTS ON THE
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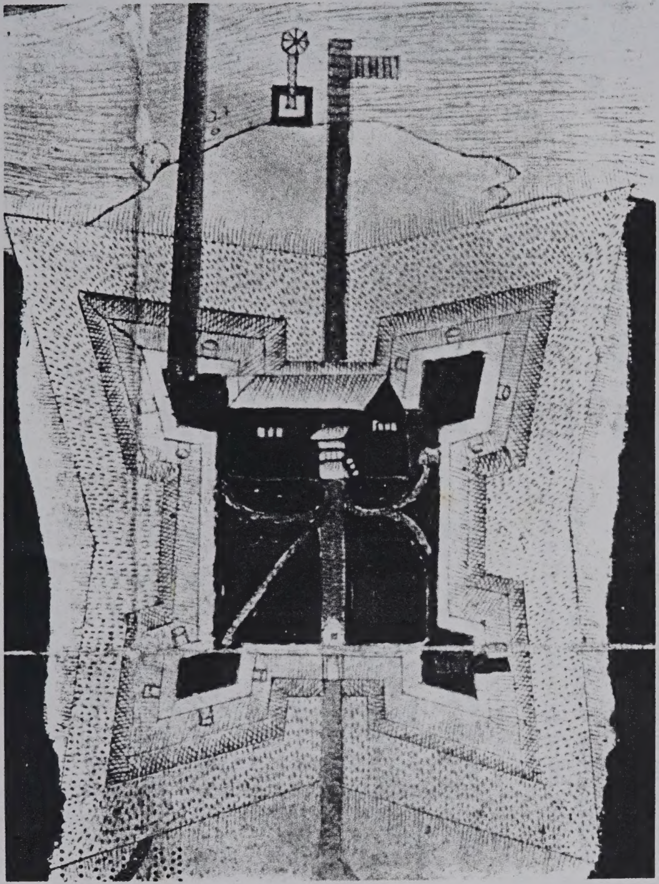

Fort Christina (1654), section of Lindeström's plan of Christinehamn. See below, p. 518.

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THEIR HISTORY AND RELATION TO THE INDIANS, DUTCH AND ENGLISH

1638-1664

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE SOUTH, THE NEW SWEDEN, AND THE AMERICAN COMPANIES, AND THE EFFORTS OF SWEDEN TO REGAIN THE COLONY

VOLUME I

BY

AMANDUS JOHNSON, PH.D.

INSTRUCTOR AT THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
SOMETIME HARRISON FELLOW FOR RESEARCH AT THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
SECRETARY OF THE SWEDISH COLONIAL SOCIETY
MEMBER OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA, ETC.

BURT FRANKLIN
NEW YORK

THE SWEDISH SETTLEMENTS ON THE DELAWARE

leave for the colony[29] and a young trooper, who had cut down and ruined six apple trees in the royal orchard at the cloister of Varnhem, was allowed to choose between hanging or going to America with wife and children.[30]

During the winter preparations for the expedition had been made at Gothenburg and Stockholm. The *Kalmar Nyckel* was repaired at the former place and Van Schotting bought provisions there and large quantities of hay and oats for the cattle that were to be shipped over, while ammunition and various other articles were procured by Beier, Kramer and Fleming at Stockholm, where a second ship, the *Charitas* was being prepared.[31] The colonists from the various districts of the northern provinces were instructed to assemble at the capital, before the sailing of the vessel and, May 3, 1631, she left Stockholm on her way to Gothenburg with thirty-five souls on board, destined for New Sweden. A list of these has been preserved. Being of considerable interest, as it describes each individual colonist and gives us an idea of the general character of the immigrants, it will be quoted in full:

1631

> List of the persons who sailed from here to Gothenburg on the ship Charitas,[32] May 3, 1641, and from where they shall be brought over to Nova Svecia, namely:
>
> (1). Ivert Hindricksson, hired to serve as a soldier. He is to have a suit of clothes and a salary of 20 R.D. a year of which he has received 20 D. cop. money here.
>
> (2). Olof Påvelsson[33] ....

---

[29] If they refused to go they should be punished. He had captured a number of the Finns and kept them in prison awaiting the orders of the Government. *Hand. rör. Skan. Hist.*, XXIX. pp. 218–19.

[30] "Dy är wår nådige willie och befallningh, att I honom uthan uppehålldh tingföhra, och domb effter brått sino åtaga låthe, ställandes honom sädan i skön, antingen han will medh hustru och barn begiffwa sigh medh wårtt Skepp ifrån Götheborgh öffwer till Nye Swerige, eller hängia." *Hand. rör. Skan. Hist.*, XXIX. 217–8; R.R., April 13, 1641, fol. 301 (R.A.).

[31] "Dritte wiagio," etc., *Söderk.*, 1637–59 (R.A.).

[32] "Floijte Charitas." Flojt or "flöt" was a large freight vessel of from 240 to 400 tons burden and it commonly carried two cannon. It was introduced into Sweden from Holland in the beginning of the seventeenth century. See Zettersten, *Sv. flot. hist.*, I. 323.

[33] Where omissions have been made, indicated by dots, the original is simply a repetition of the foregoing. To print the entire would be a needless restatement of the same thing for each colonist or soldier.

places in order to collect and hire[23] a multitude[24] of roving people . . . who nowhere have a steady residence and dwelling," and especially the Finns who were found there, and instruct them to proceed to Stockholm before the sailing of the ship.[25] He went to Kopparberget[26] and other places, and some of the colonists for this expedition were secured through him. In February the government again wrote to Governor Lejonhufvud, requesting him to prevail upon some inhabitants of his province to go to New Sweden for some years. If he was unsuccessful in his endeavor he should *capture* "all the forest-destroyers [Finns]" found in his district and keep them in readiness for the sailing of the ship. In the spring of 1641 Kling was sent out a second time to gather soldiers and colonists. He was given 189 D. 26 öre by Beier for which he hired fourteen men.[27] Johan Printz, later governor of the colony, was likewise requested by the chancellor to look for some skilled workmen and young people in Finland, who would be willing to go to America, and at least one colonist, the bookkeeper Karl Jansson, came from there.[28]

But immigrants for New Sweden were slow in making their appearance, although the authorities continued to interest themselves in the matter. In April, 1641, a letter was sent to Governor Stake in answer to one of his inquiries, directing him to permit all Finns he had captured, who could not give bonds, to

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are no longer of importance from an administrative point of view and they are not indicated on all modern maps. The place of the old provinces has been taken by the län, in some cases corresponding in area to the old province. Thus Dalarne is now called *Kopparbergs län,* corresponding exactly with the ancient province of Dalarne.

[23] The original has "ahntaga," which may mean accept, but since we know that he really did hire some men, I give the word that meaning. R.R., Sept. 26, 1640.

[24] The original has "hop," not necessarily a large number in this connection.

[25] "Fullmacht för Måns Kling," etc., September 26, 1640, R.R., fol. 1,008–9. The governors in the districts he visited were requested to aid him in his work.

[26] Kopparberget in the province of Dalarne, west of Gefle, south-central Sweden.

[27] *Journal,* no. 39. Letter from the government to Governor Lejonhufund, February 8, 1641, R.R.

[28] In a letter of 1641 (without date) he asks for a "schrifftliche Befehll" for the "Werbung." *Ox. Saml.*

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THE 4th EXPEDITION

(3). Per Johansson (?)

(4). Johan Ericksson

(5). Anders Hansson, the brother of the constaple (gunner)

(6). Jacob Sprint

(7). Paul Jöransson

(8). Axel Stille[34]

(9). Henrick Matsson, a boy. He shall have a salary of 10 R.A. a year and he received 10 D. copper money on departing.

(10). Johan, a boy

(11). Olof Erickson, a boy

(12, 13, 14, 15, 16). Måns Svensson (Loom),[35] a tailor, who has also been a lieutenant. He intends to begin agriculture in the colony. He received 5 R.D. on departing but otherwise no salary or monthly wage. Goes with his wife, two almost grown up daughters and a little son.

(17, 18, 19, 20). Olof Stille, a mill-maker,[36] who will begin farming there. He received 50 R.D. copper money, but he seeks no pay. He will be paid, however, for what he does for the company or for what he supplies. He has a wife, and two children, one seven the other one and a half years of age.

(21). Mats Hansson, one of Fleming's servants.[37] He is to have no pay, but to be supplied only with necessary clothing [and food], because he has committed some offense, and must go along as a punishment.[38]

(22). Per Kock, an imprisoned soldier from Smedjegården.[39] He must serve as a soldier for penalty, and is to receive necessary sustenance and clothing.

(23). Karl Johansson,[40] formerly bookkeeper at Kexholm,[41] who

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[34] These eight were all to serve as soldiers.

[35] The word is written above the name in the original, showing that it was omitted and put in later. Such "tillnamn" ("additional names") generally have some meaning, as Matts *skräddare* (tailor), etc., or they indicate the district whence the man came. *Lom* is a water-fowl (loon, diver). There is also a Lomma in southern Sweden.

[36] "Oloff Stille ein Müehlen Macher." The expression undoubtedly means that he was a mill-wright ("mill-builder"), perhaps a maker of mill-stones (?).

[37] The original has "knecht," and from the context it would appear to have the German meaning of servant; but in no. 1, 2 and 22 "knecht" seems to have its Swedish meaning of soldier.

[38] His crime is not mentioned, but it was not very grievous, it seems. Cf. above.

[39] Imprisoned soldiers in Stockholm were kept in Smedjegården.

[40] In the original the name is first written "Carl Jönsson," then above this "Johansson" has been inserted.

[41] A little town in Finland on Lake Ladoga, almost directly north of St.

Lansing

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(23). Karl Johansson,[40] formerly bookkeeper at Kexholm,[41] who must go along for punishment and he shall also serve at times as a soldier.

(24). Eskel Larsson, a deserted soldier from the College of War at this place, sent over as a punishment.

(25). Herr Christoffer,[42] a priest, goes along on the recommendation of the Royal Admiral,[43] who also gave him 100 D. copper money for this purpose from his own means. Otherwise he has demanded nothing besides his board, because he only wishes to gain some experience or try his luck through this journey.

(26). Gustaf Strahl, a young nobleman, goes along to try his luck (or gain experience) on the recommendation of the Royal Admiral, and he received nothing from the company except his board.

(27). Mickel Jonsson (Bolm),[44] son of the Mayor of Reval (?), is also an adventurer, seeks no pay, because he goes along to try his luck.

(28, 29, 30, 31). Måns [Nilsson] Kling, with his wife, a servant girl, and a little child. His quality and extra allowances have not yet been agreed upon. He is to serve as a lieutenant at a salary of 40 florins a month, to begin on May 1, 1641. Besides he was presented with 50 R.D. through Fleming in lieu of his time in waiting [for the expedition].

(32, 33). Mats Hansson, constaple at the new fort. He has received nothing on departing. His salary has not been fixed as yet. He also wishes to begin a farm or tobacco plantation together with his wife.

(34). Lars Markusson, hired as a servant[45] to work on the tobacco plantations. He shall have a salary of 20 R.D. and a suit, but he received nothing on departing.

(35). Påfvel Schal, a boy, the son of a baker, in Normalm,[46] receives no pay from the company."[47]

The Charitas probably arrived at Gothenburg about the beginning of June, and a number of other colonists were undoubt-

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[34] These eight were all to serve as soldiers.

[35] The word is written above the name in the original, showing that it was omitted and put in later. Such "tillnamn" ("additional names") generally have some meaning, as Matts *skräddare* (tailor), etc., or they indicate the district whence the man came. *Lom* is a water-fowl (loon, diver). There is also a Lomma in southern Sweden.

[36] "Oloff Stille ein Müehlen Macher." The expression undoubtedly means that he was a mill-wright ("mill-builder"), perhaps a maker of mill-stones (?).

[37] The original has "knecht," and from the context it would appear to have the German meaning of servant; but in no. 1, 2 and 22 "knecht" seems to have its Swedish meaning of soldier.

[38] His crime is not mentioned, but it was not very grievous, it seems. Cf. above.

[39] Imprisoned soldiers in Stockholm were kept in Smedjegården.

[40] In the original the name is first written "Carl Jönsson," then above this "Johansson" has been inserted.

[41] A little town in Finland on Lake Ladoga, almost directly north of St. Petersburg. Also a district in Finland by that name acquired by Sweden in 1617. Cf. above, Chap. I.

[42] Mr. Christopher. In Beier's list the name is written "H. Christoffer N." But Kramer omitted the N.

[43] Carl Carlsson Gyllenhjelm.

[44] Cf. no. 12 above.

[45] "Knecht" in its German meaning. Cf. no. 1, 2 and 22, note.

[46] A quarter in Stockholm.

[47] The list is in Kramer's handwriting. It is found in N.S., II. (R.A.). In the same bundle is the first draft of the list by Johan Beier, but it contains only 33 persons. On the back of it is written in Kramer's handwriting: "Des Sec. Beijers Musterrull auf die Persohnen so mitt der Flöijten Charitas auf Gottenburgh sein gefahren. . . ."

The Swedish Settlements on the Delaware

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THE 4th EXP EDITION

edly in readiness there. The cargo and provisions were brought on board the two ships as soon as possible. It is probable the *Kalmar Nyckel* carried the majority of the settlers and that the horses, goats, sheep, cattle and farming implements were loaded into the *Charitas*. It seems that some arrangements were made for the cattle and passengers, perhaps partitions or cabins being built, but the nature of these is not known. The cost of the cargo and the expenses connected with the expedition were very high. In a bill "of the third voyage to Nova Svecia" we find the following items:[48]

1631

	Florins.
Some thousand yards of cloth and other goods bought by Johan Le Thor and Richard Clerk in Holland.	4,047:2:8
Expenses	158:15:8
H. Huygen was given for expenses on Fleming's order.	75
Goods bought in Holland including various expenses..	11,675:2
Supplies of various kinds secured by Schotting in Gothenburg	9,461:6
Provisions and ammunition furnished in Stockholm by the admiralty and Klas Fleming..............	6,793:4
Grain for seed	138:6:10
Total	35,647:16:12[49]

The majority of the sailors and soldiers on the vessels were Swedes, but the officers, with one or two exceptions, were Dutchmen, and there was a sailor-boy from Dublin among the crew.[50] The ships probably left Gothenburg in July. They most likely first touched some point in Holland and from there they went to France.[51]

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[48] See "Specific. uber [sic] der Dritte Viagie." *Söderk.*, 1637–59 (R.A.) and *Journal* (K.A.). I have not found who paid for the horses and cattle sent over. Perhaps they were sent by the government, or they may have belonged to the settlers who came here to plant, as Stille, etc.

[49] But this sum does not include the money paid to the people nor some other expenses, and the entire cost of the cargo and supplies alone was 21,765:1 D. or 36,275½ florins before the ships returned to Sweden. *Journal*, no. 229.

[50] Jacob Evertssen Sandelin, who was along on the first expedition, was mate on the *Charitas*. *Journal*, no. 46; *Monatgelderb.* von d. Volck an d. Sch. die Charitas. *Söderk.*, 1637–59 (R.A.).

[51] It seems that they were ordered to go there to make arrangements for bringing salt to Sweden on the return voyage. Huygen's letter to Spiring (copy), November 28, 1642 [1641], N.S., I. (R.A.), and below. The copy of H. Huygen's letter to Spiring is dated November 28, 1642. But this must be a mistake, for the letter with which this copy was sent is dated April 10, 1642, and furthermore the back of the copy is marked "Pr. 21 Apr. 1642 Stockhl." Internal evidence also determines the year as 1641.

ernment should prepare the ships for the next expedition. The question was brought up again at this time and the Queen agreed to the plan, instructing the Admiralty on August 13, to fit out the *Wismar* for a voyage to New Sweden. The Queen had determined, says the instruction, to send 300 colonists and a large cargo to the South River, in order that the undertaking there should not go to ruin. On the same day the war department was ordered to supply ammunition for the colony according to an enclosed list and the preparations for the expedition were soon in full progress.[2] For some reason "the Crown's ship *Örn,*[3] lying at anchor in the harbor of Stockholm, was selected to make the voyage instead of the *Wismar* and Captain Bockhorn[4] was appointed to sail the vessel. As the expedition was to consist of two ships, the company arranged to prepare the *Gyllene Haj,*[5] and on the day before the above instructions were issued the Commercial College had ordered Hans Kramer to deliver 600 D. to Peter Friedell to be used for the supplies of the ship.

About two weeks later (August 25) Kramer, through orders from the college, supplied 2,550 D.s.m. to Admiral Anckarhjelm, who was also to buy provisions and pay the wages of the colonists and sailors at Gothenburg before they set sail. On September 28 an instruction was sent to the admiral concerning the journey of the ship to Virginia and, as some changes had been

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[2] R.R., August 13, 1653, fol. 1572–3.

[3] *The Eagle.* Probably the head of an eagle was carved as the figure head.

[4] Capt. Jan Jansson Bockhorn. Probably a Hollander (his enmity to the English would indicate that, besides other circumstances). Entered Swedish service before 1643. Was mate on the *Katt* in 1649 and served in various capacities for many years. Made several journeys to Portugal in 1651. Served on the "Götheborgiske confardie" ship for some time until in April, 1652. March 30 he was ordered to report to Stockholm for service. In the fall of 1653 he was ordered to sail to New Sweden on the *Örn.* In 1656 he left Swedish service to try his luck in other places, receiving good recommendations from the government. But he again returned to Sweden and during the winters of 1660 and 1662 he made journeys to Germany and Holland for private purposes and passes were given him by the Admiralty. *Am. Reg. 1651* Junio 11; *1652,* March 30 (index gives year wrongly as 1653), fol. 128–9; *1653,* September 28, fol. 512–13; October 4, fol. 531–3; *1656,* September 30, fol. 946–7; *1660,* October 31 f. 524; *1662,* August 16. In R.R. and in Com. Col. Reg. are to be found materials on him.

[5] *The Golden Shark.*

suggested in the original lists of food stuffs ordered to be purchased for the voyage, he was requested to buy various kinds of fish and salt meat instead of pork, besides French and Spanish wine, vinegar, oil and mustard seed. On the same day the cashier of the Admiralty was ordered to deliver 68 D. s.m. for one "*Åm*"[6] French brandy to be put on the Örn. Kramer also purchased quantities of supplies in Stockholm about this time and several hundred barrels of bread and flour and a large supply of nails and other goods were soon brought on board the ship.[7]

1653

EAGLE

A great number of colonists were to be collected for the expedition. Many had, from time to time, applied for permission to go to New Sweden, but the number of settlers, who had expressed their willingness to immigrate, was not sufficient. Accordingly Sven Skute was appointed to hire soldiers and laborers and to prevail upon others to go as settlers. On August 23 Kramer gave him 300 D.s.m. for which he should engage the people, a letter being sent to Governor Per Ribbing on the following day, requesting him to assist in the matter, and on the twenty-fifth an instruction in six paragraphs was issued for him. He should hire 50 soldiers, including those already engaged, especially such as had a trade, and he was to collect 250 colonists "of which the greatest part [must be] good men, fewer women and fewest children." He was to offer the soldiers at the most 4 R.D. a month (less if possible) and he should especially endeavor to find farmhands[8] and colonists, who were willing to go without pay, but such as needed financial aid he was to promise a certain sum, always as small as possible and in no case more than 30 D.k.m. a year until they could be settled on land in New Sweden. First of all he was to gather as many as he was able at Västerås, sending them at once to the capital, that they might go to Gothenburg by the *Örn.* From there he

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[6] Cf. above, Chap. VI.; Falkman, *Om mått,* etc., II. 3, 26, 55–6, 119, 165.

[7] *Journal,* nos. 1101 (1653, August 12), 1102, 1104 (August 23), 1106, 1115, 1119, 1110, 1116, 1118–25, 1131–34, 1147–8, 1153. *Am. Reg.,* September 28, 1653, fol. 512–13 (Fl. Ar.).

[8] "Bondedrängiar."

regulated." It is also stated that about a hundred families had to be left behind on account of lack of room in the vessel.[42]

Everything was in readiness on the fifth of January, but the *Gyllene Haj* had not made her appearance and, as so much of the provisions had now been used up that the remainder was not sufficient for the journey, it was found necessary to wait for the arrival of the new supplies on the ship.[43] The *Haj*, having finally been made ready, left Stockholm on November 23 with forty-one persons (including the sailors) and a good supply of provisions.[44] Contrary winds seem to have delayed the sailing,

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[42] Rising to E. Oxenstierna, December 30, 1653, January 5, 1654; Anckarhjelm to Kramer, February 1, 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.).

[43] As the *Haj* was delayed Rising informed Oxenstierna about it and inquired if they should wait. Orders were then received not to wait for the ship, and to set sail as soon as the wind was favorable, but Rising consulted with Anckarhjelm and it was decided to wait for the vessel.

[44] In N.S. I. (R.A.) is the following list:

"A.D. 1653. A list of the people [who sailed] on the *Gyllene Haj* the twenty-third of November from Stockholm to Gothenburg, as follows:—

Captain Hanss Amundsson with persons	11
Lieutenant Swen Hööck	1
Hanss Steghson in Dallarön, the son-in-law of the book keeper Hans Kramer, December 17	1
The mate, Jönss Oloffsson	1

Common Sailors.

Bengt Ericksson	1
Johan Oloffsson	1
Dawid Michellsson	1
Erich Jöransson	1
Hindrick Matzson	1
The cook, Jönss Olofsson	1
The cook's boy, Jacob Johansson	1
Total	22

The Land People.

The constaples (gunners) with their wives, maidservants and children are both families together, persons	7

The Soldiers

Johan Pedhersson Wulff	1
Nilss Nilsson Phogegus(?)	1
Gustaf Johansson Kråckfööt	1
Secretary Carl Juliuss	1

The 30th of December, 1653, these have deserted in the Sound:

Tommes Mein	1
Jonass Ericksson	1

for on December 17 the ship had only come as far as Dalarön.[45] On the thirtieth she was in the sound, where six sailors with a servant and a prisoner deserted.[46] Four new sailors having been hired, the vessel again set sail about January 3, but she failed to arrive at Gothenburg in a reasonable time, the wind being so contrary, and on January 11 Rising sent a messenger along the shore to look for her. She arrived at last on January 17, but "leaky and in bad condition." Through the negligence of the sailors she had run on banks in the sound and her mast and anchor were broken.[47]

According to the original plans the two ships were to leave Gothenburg simultaneously, keeping the same course for about half the journey, whereupon the *Haj* should go by a direct route to Porto Rico, but on account of the long delay of the expedition new orders were given, whereby Rising was instructed to proceed at once to New Sweden, while the *Haj* was

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Larss Erichsson	1
Jonass Erichsson	1
Michell Olofsson von Saar	1
Torsten Torwigh with his servant	2
Hans Miödh, a prisoner	1

The above mentioned seven people disappeared as stated above in Öhresundh, the 30th December.

Total number of people from Stockholm to Gothenburg	40

[The prisoner Hans Miödh was not counted.]

The following have arrived in the Sound:

The mate Andreas Matthaeus	1
Second mate Effwert Johansson	1
Sailor Jönss Nilsson	1
The cook Persson	1"

With Elswick's letter to E. Oxenstierna of March 22, 1654, is another "Förteckning på skepsfolket på sk. *G. Haij*, som skola wara följactige till West Indien." According to this list Bengt Olsson from Söderköping was second mate across the ocean, Andreas Swensson from Sundbeck, Jacob Johansson from Helsingfors and Olof Torkilsson were common sailors besides those given above, Berndt Jastsson from Bergen accompanied the ship as sailmaker, Sigfrid Olsson was cook and Sven Larsson was "cajut pojke." "Förteck.," March 22, 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.).

[45] A place near Stockholm.

[46] They had been paid part of their wages.

[47] "Förteckning," etc., 1653, N.S., I. (R.A.), Rising to E. Oxenstierna, January 11, January 20, January 26, *Ox. Saml.;* Anckarhjelm to Kramer, January 20, 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.). Rising's *Journal* (Up. B.). "I onssdagz middagh kom Galioten Gillenhay hijt. . . ." Rising to E. Oxenstierna, January 20, 1654.

reason could not be ascertained." Certain plantations at the Sandhook had been forfeited to the company[11] and Sven Skute was ordered to superintend and manage these.[12]

On the last day of September a messenger sent by Elswick brought the commissions formally appointing Rising "Director of the colony" and Sven Skute commander of the forts and the military affairs. Three days later these letters (from the government and the Commercial College) were read to the people, who were assembled at a court in Fort Christina. There were promises of aid and it seems that Rising and his council took a bright view of the situation, for plans were now made for partly reorganizing the internal government of the settlement and for providing a sort of constitution or rule of conduct.[13]

1654

"On October 27 the best men [in the colony] were called together at Fort Christina and an ordinance was drafted." Rising says that it "was made by us jointly," but it is more than probable that he presented a draft of the ordinance to the commission and that the different points were taken up and discussed. Several changes and suggestions may have been offered by the members, but the draft as presented by Rising undoubtedly underwent few changes.[14] The ordinance was proclaimed both among the Swedes and Dutch colonists, "but it could not be put into execution before succor should arrive from the fatherland."

In 1653, when preparations were on foot for the sending of a new expedition to New Sweden, a tentative budget was made. The salaries and wages of the officers (including the preacher, Nertunius, and the barber-surgeon, Stidden) and fifty soldiers were estimated at 3,722 R.D. "A budget was also drawn up for one hundred and fifty landspeople, skilled workmen and peasants, with wages amounting to 1,200 R.D. This list was completed before the sailing of the *Haj* and when Höök and Elswick arrived in the colony, the staff of military officers with their salaries was as follows:

Director,	Johan Rising	1,200 D.
Commandant,	Sven Skute	900 D.
Lieutenant,	Elias Gyllengren	432 D.
Lieutenant,	Sven Höök	288 D.
Ensign,	Per Hansson Wendel	216 D.
Watchmaster,	Gregorius van Dyck	180 D.
The Head Gunner,	Johan Danielsson	(?)
Constaple,	Johan Andersson Stålkofta	144 D.
Sergeant,	Anders Larsson	(?)
Armorer,	Anders Kämpe	144 D.
Engineer,	Peter Lindeström	144 D.
Provost-Marshal,	Måns Stake	108 D.
Drummer,	Johan Schalbrick	90 D.
Trumpeter,	Peter Andersson	90 D. (?)
Muster-Clerk,	Lars Andersson	(?)

On December 1 (the day after his arrival) the memorials, commissions and instructions of Hendrick von Elswick were read before the council and others present. He was to act as commissioner in Huygen's place; he should keep all books, make lists and bills of goods sent to Europe or received in the colony from there; he should handle the money and keep correct accounts of cargoes and other property, and he should keep account of the crops bought and sold here.

When Huygen left Christina, Jacob Swensson was placed in charge of the storehouse (since Gotfried Harmer deserted), but in the summer of 1654 he was needed for other purposes and Peter Mört was appointed by the council to keep the accounts and handle the goods.[15]

On February 9, 1655, an inventory of the goods in Fort Christina was made by Jacob Junge, under the direction of Sven Höök and Per Hansson Wendel (the goods at Tinicum

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[11] Cf. Chap. XL.

[12] Rising's *Journal,* July 27; October 16, 1654 (Up. B.).

[13] Rising's appointment from the Queen, February 28, 1654, *R.R.*, and from the Commercial College, Mar. 4, 1654, *Com. Col. Reg.* (R.A.). Original in N.S., I. (R.A.). See facsimile. Rising's *Journal* September 30, October 3, 1654 (Up. B.).

[14] *Report,* June 14, 1655, N.S., I. (K.A.).

[15] None of his books have been preserved as far as is known. Rising says that "han kom sedan fast till korta med sin räkning." In fact it seems that none of his books was brought to Sweden, for the officers of the American Company complained that Rising presented no accounts of expenditures before the arrival of Elswick.

in all likelihood have prospered for many a year. Nor was he slow in exercising his judicial functions "that justice and righteousness might have their course in the land" as well as prosperity and the pursuit of wealth. At the meeting of the freemen on Sunday, June 4, Rising intimated that courts would soon be called to settle disputes and bring certain persons to justice, and five days later the date for the first court was set.

This court was convened at Tinicum[31] on June 26 to examine into the charges against the Rev. Lars Lock and Olof Stille.[32] 1654 No definite evidence could be established against Lock, however, and Stille secured bondsmen, who were accepted by the court.[33] "The great majority complained about the severity of Governor Printz" and the director, who handled the case as delicately as possible, being unwilling to offend them, requested the dissatisfied ones "to draw up their points of complaints themselves, which they later did." The cases could not be settled in the colony for obvious reasons, hence the documents were sent to Sweden, "as Governor Printz was there himself, who could answer the [accusations] and explain himself at the proper place."[34]

On July 17 a court was held at Christina to examine nine adventurers from New England. They had heard that the Swedes were all dead,[35] wherefore they came to take possession of the river in the name of the Protector of England.[36] "They had no other passport than a writing which they had signed themselves and one called Baxter in Gravesend in New England, but nothing was done to them . . . and they were sent back again the same way they had come," to preserve the peace with the English colony.[37]

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[31] The courts of this period sat partly at Tinicum, partly at Christina and in Fort Trefaldighet. Rising's *Journal.*

[32] Rising was judge.

[33] For the charges against Rev. Lock and Stille see above, Chap. XXXVIII. 38

[34] *Report,* 1654; Complaint, etc., 1654.

[35] "Or so sick that they could not lift the anchor of the ship."

[36] They arrived at Tinicum Island in the night or evening of July 14 and were taken to Chistina at once by Corporal Anders Olofsson.

[37] Rising's *Journal.*

Another court was held at Christina on October 3 at which the majority of the freemen were present and several cases were examined. "Peter Lindeström and Peter Mört were brought before the court, because on a night in the fort they had pounded an Englishman, Simon Lane, blue. The other Englishmen still being there took it hard, yet, because Simon Lane remitted the case, they were made free."

The Dutch colonists caused Rising a great deal of trouble, several courts being held in reference to them and on Friday, June 23, a court was convened in Fort Trefaldighet at which several cases, "which had before been postponed among them," were settled.[38]

Efforts were likewise made by the director to bring back the colonists, who had deserted since the departure of Printz, so that some old law-cases could be settled. As the two Swedish commissaries were sent to (Maryland)[39] in May, 1654, they were instructed to demand from the officials the return of the deserters, who were given assurance of a free passage. But the efforts had no results. The deserters were brought before the council in Severn, which "found that they were not under obligation nor contract to go back to New Sweden, since they had committed no crime and were refused a passport by Printz;" consequently no one returned. The result of the commission was reported on June 6, when Olofsson and Grönberg returned in company with Th. Ringold, who brought letters concerning the matter from the governor and magistrates in Severn. When Ringold returned, new letters were written to the governor and two men[40] were sent with him, who should

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[38] Rising's *Journal* (Up. B.).

[39] The Swedes spoke of the English settlements to the South of New Sweden as "Virginia," without always distinguishing between Maryland and Virginia proper. Rising's *Journal* (Up. B.); *Reports,* July 13, 1654, June 13, 1655; Lindeström, *Geogr.* The English colonies to the north of New Sweden were called New England or *North England,* by the Swedes on the Delaware. Cf. Rising's *Journal.* Lindeström, Geogr., *Report,* June 13, 1655. Cf. note 3, Chap. XLII. below.

[40] One of these was Hans Månsson, Rising's *Journal,* June 15 (Up. B.).

seems that he left the colony at once, returning in a week with 60 hogsheads of tobacco, for he observed that there was a chance to do some good business before the *Örn* set sail for Europe. His prices were somewhat high, 10 stivers a lb.,[7] which he finally reduced to 9 stivers (declaring that he could not sell for less), but he was willing to risk the danger of loss on the sea and the fluctuation of the market, so that if the tobacco could not be sold at a gross profit of 7 stivers a lb. he would reduce his price to such an extent that this profit would be realized,[8] the only condition being, that half of the value of the tobacco at 9 stivers per lb., should be paid him at once, the other half when the next ship arrived with a cargo. Rising, however, "took it into consideration a few days," probably expecting that other merchants would make their appearance. But none appeared and on July 3 the transaction was effected, Allerton selling "13,519[9] lbs. of Virginian tobacco for 6,083:11½ florins, Holland." "A written accord was made, signed by Rising and Allerton, and the tobacco was brought on board the *Örn* the same day." On Tuesday, the next day, goods to the value of 2,364:11½ florins were delivered to Allerton from the storehouse at Christina, and a "promise to pay the other 3,719½ florins," when the next boat should arrive, was signed by the director.[10]

In his instruction Rising was directed to observe "that the land should be properly portioned out to the colonists, so that each one would receive as much ground as could be given to him."[11] The country was inspected by the director shortly after his arrival, whereupon it was decided that old farms be improved and new tracts reclaimed from the forest. Rising also caused a map to be made of the river "from the Bay up to

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[7] Six and seven stivers being the usual price.

[8] "Så at hwad man skulle få mindre för Llbdet i Sweerige än 16 styfer thet wille han ärfijlla och af sin räst afdraga låtha," Rising's *Journal.*

[9] The total was "15,926 llb. netto 13,519 llb.," Rising's *Journal.*

[10] Rising's *Journal,* June 28, July 3, 1654; *Report,* 1654; Lindeström to the Com. Col. July 9, 1654.

[11] "Memorials," etc. (par. 10), December 18, 1653, *Com. Col. Reg.* (R.A.); Rising's *Journal* (Up. U.).

the Falls," "as good as was possible in a hurry," by "Andries Hudde, a Hollander."[12] As soon as the newly arrived freemen had recovered sufficiently they were assigned land and on June 10 Rising writes in his Journal that "this and the following [days] we settled the people, who were well to cultivate the land." These colonists were supported by the company until they "could make a start" and cattle were given to them for a certain part of the produce.

Several donations of land in New Sweden had been made by the Crown to officers who came here. In most cases this was done without proper knowledge of the location or condition of the tracts, hence difficulties were sure to arise. Some of these lands not only were occupied by other freemen, but they had not even been properly purchased from the Indians. On June 5, as Rising with some officers were on an inspection-tour, "Captain Skute presented a letter patent from [Her] Royal Majesty, Queen Christina, through which she had given him Passayunk . . . [and part?] of Kingsessing . . . But the freemen were not pleased at this, saying that it was too early for them to become tenants,[13] for they had enjoyed no freedoms as yet. They were pacified, however, by the information that Her Royal Majesty intended to give to Captain Skute only the title to the land, not their work and improvement, which they had done upon it." As a consequence, several of the old colonists desired to sell their homesteads in order to occupy "new lands, encouraged thereto by the privileges (freedoms) given by Her Royal Majesty . . . [to private settlers], but no one of the new-comers had means to redeem them." Some cultivated farms were therefore purchased for the company, the improvement only being paid for, and in the summer and autumn Nils Mattson,[14] Måns Månsson and other

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[12] Rising paid "till en hollendare medh nampn Andreas Hÿdden, som haffver giort några karter öffver Rewiret och andra affritninggar, 20 [florins]." Räck. med Söd. Comp.," October 25, 1660, Rising's *Process* (R.A.). Cf. above, Chap. XXXVII.

[13] "Frelsebönder," tenants or serfs.

[14] "At this time [July 10] I bought in behalf and for the benefit of the company, Måns Anderson's land, called Siller, Johan Schaffebs and Iver the Finns

freemen were given tenure of lands at Upland, Printz-Torp and tracts on the Schuylkill.[15] Servants were also assigned to the estate of Printz at Tinicum Island "to guard the Hall against the savages . . . and to do all that was necessary for the fields and meadows, besides whatever else might be required."

It seems that the majority of the new colonists were assigned places between Christina and Ft. Trefaldighet, as near the Delaware as possible. A few were also located upwards along the bank of Christina River, "in order to protect the colony against Virginia" and in time to make a commercial road from the English River[16] to the Swedish settlement. Some of the company's cows were portioned out to settlers on rental in June for one *lispund* (18 lbs.) of butter yearly and half of the offspring. About the beginning of July "the rye [of the company] was cut and brought into Fort Christina"[17] and the crops of the other plantations were harvested at the same time, but comparatively little grain had been sown and hence, although the yield was good, the crop was not large.[18]

Rising also endeavored to carry out the other paragraphs of his instruction and he selected "suitable places, where villages . . . as well as towns and trading-places could be founded and established." Lindeström was commissioned "to divide the fields [north of and next unto Christina] into lots." The town proper was laid out into a rectangular plot (broken by the encroachment of the low-lands) with square blocks and streets running at right angles to each other—antedating William Penn's Philadelphia plan about thirty years. A map of

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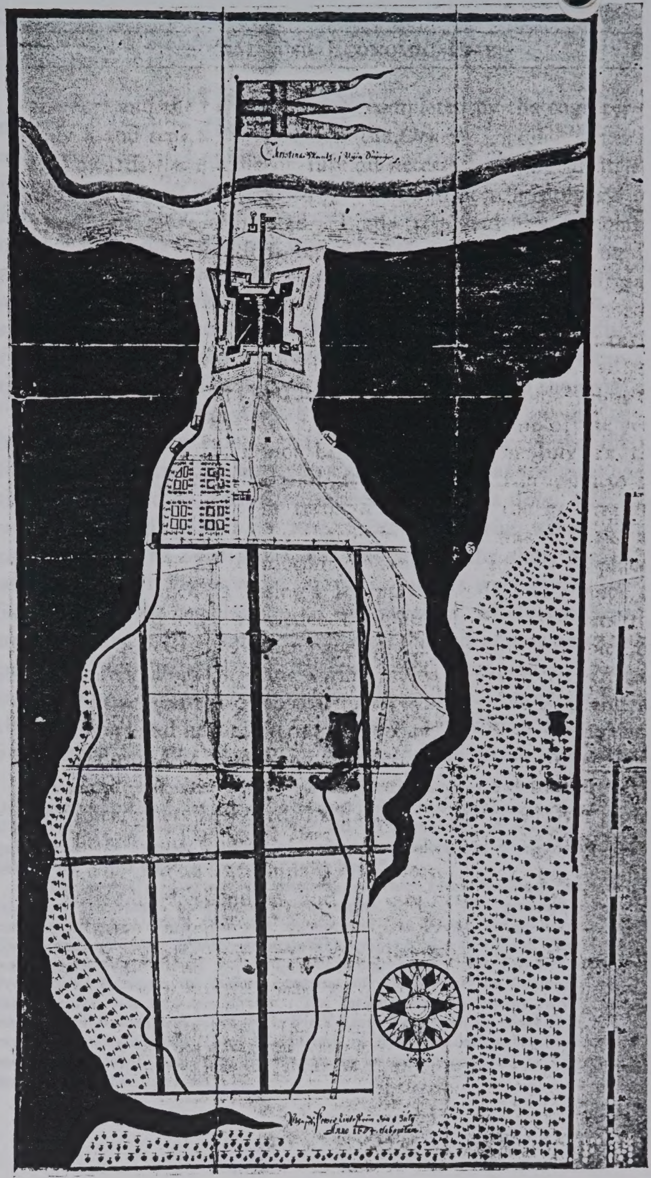
cultivated land. A new freeman called Nils Matzon rented these three lands." Rising's *Journal,* July 10, 1654 (Up. U.).

[15] The beasts of burden and half of the seed being supplied by the company, the other half of the seed by the renters, who gave half of the produce to the company.

[16] Elk River and the Chesapeake.

[17] "30 staffer vijdh pass."

[18] Rising's *Journal,* June 5, 10, 19, July 6, 10, 24, 1654 (Up. U.); Instruction for Rising, December 15, 1653 (par. 6, 7, 12, 13, 14); *Report,* July 13, 1654; Sprinchorn, p. 93 ff.



"Christina Skantz i Nyia Sverige. Utaff Petter Lindestöm den 8 July Anno 1654 elaboratum." Lindeström's plan of Christinehamn and Fort Christina, July 8, 1654. Original map (about one meter long and half as wide) in colors preserved in N. S. II. (R. A.), Stockholm.

men to Manhattan to gather news about Stuyvesant's movements. About the same time Sven Höök with four men was sent down the river to reconnoitre, but he returned on the tenth of August, having observed nothing." Hans Månsson and Jacob Sprint, however, who had been selected to go to New Amsterdam returned five days later from "Staten Island . . . bringing a complete and sure intelligence that the director general of New Netherland intended to come . . . . [to New Sweden] with four large and several small ships and seven or eight hundred men," being ready to sail August 18. Thereupon Sven Höök was again sent down the Bay with some soldiers, but he soon returned without news. Having been ordered down the river a third time to watch the enemy he appeared on August 30, reporting he had seen two or three ships in the Bay the previous evening.

In the meantime the forts were repaired and the best preparations possible were made for the defence of the country. On August 16 Sven Skute went to Fort Christina to confer with the director and to receive instructions.[48] A council of war was called at which it was decided to defend Fort Trefaldighet in case the Dutch should attack it, a written resolution being given to Skute, setting forth his duties. When the Hollanders approached he "should send [a messenger] to their ships . . . to find out if they came as friends and in any case warn them not to pass the above mentioned fort, for if they did he would fire at them, which they should not look upon as [an act of] hostility." "150 lbs. of powder, a number of muskets, swords, pikes, bullets and other necessary things" were taken into the fort on the same day. Provisions were also supplied, 47 bushels of rye, fourteen gallons of brandy, quantities of beer and other necessaries being carried into the storehouse of Trefaldighet within a few days.[49] The soldiers and freemen were also supplied with powder and other ammunition.[50]

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[48] Elswick's *Relation*, 1655, N.S., I. (R.A.).

[49] Rising's *Journal*, August, 1655; "Relation öfwer thet ahnfall," etc., Arfwedson, p. 24; Elswick's *Relation*, N.S., I. (R.A.); Rising's "Reck. med Söd. Comp.," Rising's *Process* (R.A.).

[50] *Schuldt u. Carg. B.*, 1655.

Stuyvesant arrived in the bay about three o'clock in the afternoon of August 27 (September 6), but on account of the tide and a calm he was unable to proceed up the river before the following day. In the evening of August 29 he cast anchor before Fort Elfsborg, landed his men and made his camp for the night,[51] while his little force was reviewed and divided into five companies, "each under its own colors."[52] During the night, which was very dark, hiding the manouvers of the Dutch, a sloop was sent up to Sandhook, where a number of Swedish freemen were captured who gave information about the situation in the colony. On August 31 the fleet moved up the river, "passed Fort Casimir about 8 or 9 P. M. without any act of hostility on either side, [and] cast . . . anchor above the fortress." Skute with his officers and men were at the guns as the vessels sailed by, and when Sander Lenertson's sloop, which was in the lead, passed the fort, Peter Lindeström asked the commander if he should fire, but, though all the ships passed within range of the Swedish cannon no orders were given, for Skute, seeing the hopelessness of the situation, wisely withheld orders to fire. The Dutch troops were landed and as soon as possible "the passage to Christina [was] occupied by fifty men" to prevent news from reaching that place. Shortly after the fleet had come to anchor, Lieutenant Smith with a drummer and a white flag was sent ashore to demand the surrender of the

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[51] Lindeström relates that "the Dutch made their camp at Fort Elfsborg for the night, where they blockaded [the river] shot and thundered all night." *Geogr.*, p. 224, "Hwarest dee blockade," etc. The meaning of *blockade* is not quite clear. In Swedish it means to blockade, to inclose, but it might be used here in the Dutch sense to "work," "to be busy," etc.

[52] "The general's [Stuyvesant's] company, of which Lieut. Nuijtingh was captain, and Jan Hagel ensign-bearer, was ninety strong. The general's second company, of which Dirck Smit was captain, and Don Pouwel ensign-bearer, was sixty strong. Nicolaes de Silla, the marshal's company, of which Lieut. Pieter Ebel was captain and William van Reijnevelt ensign-bearer, was fifty-five strong. Frederick de Koningh, the major's company, of which Pieter de Coningckx was ensign-bearer, was sixty-two strong. The major's second company, which was composed of seamen and pilots, with Dirck Jansz Verstraten of Ossanen as their captain, boatswain's-mate Dirck Claesz[en], of Mannikendam as ensign-bearer, and the sail-maker, Jan Illisz of Honsum as lieutenant, consisted of fifty men, making altogether 317 men."

surprised at this unexpected turn of affairs. He answered the Dutch governor that the proposition seemed somewhat strange to him. He thought it was too late to come to any such agreements, but he requested Stuyvesant to present the offers in writing and promised that a written reply would be delivered as soon as the Swedish council had considered the matter.[104]

As it was late and since all the members of the Swedish council were not in the fort, it was decided to postpone the decision until the next day. The council, which assembled in the forenoon of September 16 (26), consisted of Director Rising, Lieut. Sven Höök, who had been released, Hendrick von Elswick, Gregorius van Dyck, the gunner, Johan Danielsson, the ensign, Peter Wendell and Peter Rambo, besides some freemen. The unanimous opinion of the council was, however, that Stuyvesant's offer could not be accepted. The arguments of the different members against repealing the capitulation may be summed up as follows.[105] They had no authority to enter into an alliance with Stuyvesant, guaranteeing that no consequences would follow as a result of the Dutch attack nor to waive the rights and pretences of the Swedish Crown to damages for the losses caused by the Dutch; they could not subsist in the country, since their provisions were gone, a great part of their cattle and swine were killed and many of the plantations laid waste and finally it would be disgraceful to their superiors to reoccupy the fort. After a vote had been taken an answer to Stuyvesant's proposition was drafted by Elswick which was sent to the Dutch governor through two soldiers, informing him that the Swedish council had decided to abide by the capitulation.[106]

Arrangements were therefore made by the Dutch to carry out the articles of surrender. When an inventory of the property belonging to the Swedish company and the Swedish government had been made (from September eighteenth to the twenty-second) which was signed and sealed, the keys to the storehouse were delivered to Stuyvesant's servants by the gunner Johan Danielsson.[107]

The Dutch soldiers had plundered many of the plantations at Finland and Upland, during the siege, but it is probable that order was restored soon after the signing of the treaty, most of the settlers going back to their homes.[108]

An article had been included in the treaty giving Rising the right to inquire into the conduct of the Swedish officers at the surrender of Fort Trefaldighet, and on September 24 a court-martial was held on Timber Island, at which an examination was made into the behavior of Lieutenant Sven Skute.[109] He was blamed for not giving orders to fire on the Dutch ships as they passed, although Lindeström and Stålkofta stood by the guns ready to apply the match. He was also accused of not taking council with his officers about what was to be done, and Rising told him openly that he had disobeyed his orders, while

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with the flag and occupy the fort and places all the way from Christina Kill [up the Delaware] and let the Hollanders occupy what there was below [Christina Kill] and assure him that the Swedes would never complain about it, but live together [with the Dutch] in good friendship—the country being large enough for both—and we should make an offensive and defensive league." Minutes of the Council for considering Stuyvesant's proposition, September 16, 1655, N.S., I. (R.A.); see also Rising's *Journal;* Elswick's *Relation,* 1655, N.S., I. (R.A.).

[104] Lindeström says: "Den 18 September om mårgonen kom General Styfvesandh inn till oss på Fort Christina medh sitt Trääbeen styltandes, rächte oss handen, till bödh oss wårt landh igen och all giord skada wedhergiälla willia." *Geogr.*, p. 236.

[105] Gregioius Van Dyck: "In consideration of the above mentioned reasons, [and] of the condition of the country [I] agree with the rest. We surrendered on favourable terms [Stuyvesant now tries] to entice us to go into [the fort] again, our superiors will have injury and disgrace through it, it is therefore best to stand by the capitulation." Report of the Proceedings of the Council, September 16, N.S., I. (R.A.).

[106] The reasons for not accepting Stuyvesant's offer are summarized by Rising as follows: (1) They had no authority to make an offensive and defensive league with him, without the knowledge of their superiors, furthermore it would not be advisable as the Indians had attacked New Netherland while the savages were friendly to the Swedes. (2) They could not guarantee that no trouble would arise from the hostility, attacks and affronts he had made against the colony. (3) It was not to their honor to reoccupy the fort. (4) All pretensions to damages would be waived. (5) They could not subsist in the country since the provisions were gone, most of the cattle butchered, the plantations ruined and their credit with the English destroyed. Rising's *Journal* (Up. B.); cf. Lindeström's *Geogr.*, pp. 236–7; Elswick's *Relation.*

[107] Elswick's *Relation,* 1656, N.S., I. (R.A.); Lindeström's *Geogr.*, pp. 237–8.

[108] Elswick's *Relation,* 1656, N.S., I. (R.A.); Lindeström's *Geogr.,* p. 237 ff.

[109] Lindeström is inaccurate. He gives the date as September 26. *Geogr.,* p. 239.

CHAPTER LI.

THE AMERICAN TOBACCO COMPANY, 1658–1662.

The colony was lost, but the tobacco trade, which had proven itself the most profitable, could still become a source of large gain to the stockholders, if placed on a practical basis. The remedy proposed for the existing evils and drawbacks was the re-organization of the company, the extension of its activities and a monopoly of the tobacco trade in the kingdom as well as the exclusive right of importation. The suggestions now met with the approval of the King and in the spring of 1658 the company was re-organized along the above lines.

On May 22, 1658, the King published a "*placard* concerning the importation and trade of tobacco."[1] One of the principal reasons for the granting of the privilege to the company was "that the productive[2] colony in Nova Svecia, [which will be] of great benefit to Us, our kingdom and subjects, as well on account of the navigation as on account of the trade and commerce and the accompanying profit and advantage, might be preserved and maintained." The ordinance contained eight articles, defining the rights of the company and prescribing fines and punishments for those found guilty of trespassing upon its privileges. The company was to appoint agents from among the residents in various parts of the kingdom to sell the tobacco, when application for such privileges were received; but, if no application was made by the cities within three weeks of the publication of the ordinance, the company had a right to appoint and send its own representatives there.[3]

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[1] It was dated at Gothenburg.

[2] "Then importente Colonien i *Nova Svecia.*" *Importente* seems to have had its Latin meaning of producing at this time.

[3] Stiernman, II. 875–80.

The entire tobacco trade of Sweden was now placed in the company's hands and extended to almost every city, village and hamlet in the kingdom and to the principal centers in Finland and the other provinces. It also supplied the tobacco for the army in the field. Strömsköld, Kramer and Junge were to remain as managers and they are mentioned as the "Directors of the American Company." Chrispinus Flygge was appointed inspector general over the trade in Västergötland, Värmland, Nerige, Dal, Halland, Skåne, Blekinge, Bohus län,[4] the city of Gothenburg, Elfsborgs and Skaraborgs län, and Daniel Junge was appointed to the same office at Stockholm, with jurisdiction over a large territory. Searchers to control the trade and guard the rights of the company were also engaged[5] and "inspectors" and agents were appointed to sell the company's tobacco as well as to "inspect the tobacco trade" in their districts. Contracts were signed by them in which they agreed to follow the orders and regulations of the company, and powers of attorney or warrants were given them by the directors.[6] The searchers were given one third of the confiscated tobacco and in some cases a wage of 12 R.D. a month.[7]

Several applications were also filed by private citizens, in accordance with the ordinance, for the privilege of retailing tobacco. These merchants or "contractors" like the agents

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[4] The last four provinces were ceded to Sweden in the treaty at Roskilde, 1658. Hildebrand, *Sv. hist.*, V.

[5] Jon Hansson Fries and Måns Rosell were appointed to visit all vessels coming to Waxholm. "Concept auf dem fullm.," etc., October 2, 1658, *Tobaksk.*, 1643–59 (R.A.). Two other *Besucher* were hired to work at Stockholm, Lars Berg and Nils Matsson, but Berg later went to Enköping, *Journal*, no. 1539.

[6] Anders Andersson was appointed inspector over the trade in "Nerike and Västmanland"; Pål Kröger was appointed inspector in Jacobstad, Finland; Krister Hansson in Västervik; B. Hanneman in Ekenäs and surrounding district; Per Erissmansson in Kalmar län and city as well as Öland and surrounding districts. See Krister Hansson's "Revers," November 18, 1658; B. Hannemann's letter, December 3, 1658; Per Erissman's Revers, December 4, 1658; C. Flygge's letter, November 9, 1658; Strömsköld's letter, June 9, 1658; Anders Andersson's "Revers," July 13, 1658; Kröger's "Revers," October 26, 1658; *Tobaksk.*, 1643–59 (R.A.); C. Schmit's oligation, March 19, 1659, N.S., I. (K.A.).

[7] *Journal*, nos. 1538, 1539 ff.

changed to New Amstel,[2b] while Christina (changed to Altena) was to be the center of power for the company's colony, and Stuyvesant was commanded to garrison the latter as well as Fort New Gothenborg with eight or ten soldiers.

Jacob Alrichs was appointed director at New Amstel in December, but, being delayed by a shipwreck and other misfortunes, he did not arrive at his destination before the spring of the following year. Quite a large number of colonists also arrived with him.[3]

In the meantime complaints were made against Jacquet. He was finally removed from office and put in arrest, but he was later released. Fort Christina was placed in a better state of defense with the arrival of Alrichs as the Dutch still distrusted the Swedes, the new director being commanded to watch them closely.

In the spring of 1658 Governor Stuyvesant went in person to arrange matters at the Delaware. The Swedes were required to swear a new oath of allegiance, but they requested to be exempt from taking sides if trouble should arise between Sweden and Holland, which was granted them.

The country was now divided into court jurisdictions and the Swedes were given a sort of self-government at Tinicum Island.[4] About the same time Sven Skute was elected captain; Anders Dalbo, lieutenant; Jacob Swenson, ensign; Gregorius van Dyck, sheriff; and Olof Stille, Matts Hansson, Peter Rambo and Peter Cock were elected magistrates.[5] On May 8, (1658) they appeared before Stuyvesant with a petition for certain privileges. They requested instructions for their guidance, they desired a court messenger and free access to Fort Altena, so that they could get assistance in case of necessity and they petitioned that nobody should be allowed to leave the colony without the knowledge of the magistrates. The Swedes and Finns gradually gained the confidence of the Dutch authorities, and performed many valuable services for them as interpreters and guides. They cut masts and other timber and by their thrift were able to supply much of the food used by the soldiers.[6]

The crops were poor in 1658, there being too much rain. Butter, cheese and salt were scarce and sickness was general. The total number of inhabitants was now about 600 souls, but it is not possible to say how many of these were Swedes and Finns. The cattle and horses belonging to the Dutch West India Company were given out for half of the increase to the Swedes and Dutch, a custom employed by Rising as we have seen, but complaints were made that the horses were ill-treated.[7]

On July 20 (30), 1658, Willem Beeckman was appointed commissary and vice-director for the West India Company at Fort Altena with highest authority over the company's officers, "except in the district . . . of New Amstel," and his instructions in eight articles were given to him on October 18 (28). He was to have the oversight and supervision of the Swedes and was to be the custom-officer and auditor in the country, being required to be present at New Amstel, when ships arrived there or whenever his duties so required.

Beeckman proposed to tax the Swedes and Finns to the amount of 400 guilders a year, thus providing for the current expenses, and the directors of the Dutch West India Company did not approve of giving them officers of their own, but Stuyvesant replied to their orders for discharging these officers and appoint Hollanders in their stead, that he thought that the best way to win the hearts of the Swedes was by lenient methods of governing them. The Swedes were also called upon to do military duty, but they objected strongly, and the Dutch had no power to force them, Beeckman reporting that if an emergency should arise "they would be more cumbersome than useful." Troubles arose with the English as well as the savages, keeping the Dutch in constant alarm, and they were therefore

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[2b] *Nieuwer-Amstel* after one of the suburbs of Amsterdam.

[3] *Doc.*, XII., II. Alexander d' Hinoyossa was made lieutenant.

[4] Their council met there.

[5] Some of these had been elected before this.

[6] *Doc.*, XII. 212 ff.

[7] *Doc.*, II. 8 ff., 50 ff., etc.; XII. 187 ff.; Hazard, 242 ff.

compelled to treat the Swedes and Finns with more respect and consideration than would otherwise have been the case.[8]

Attempts were made from time to time to settle them in villages, to simplify the jurisdiction over them, and in the spring of 1660 the fiscal, De Sille, was instructed to engage some of them as soldiers or to persuade them to settle near New Amsterdam as freemen, asking "with all imaginable and kindly persuasive reasons" the Swedish sheriff's and commissaries "help and intercession." But they were opposed to removal and De Sille was unsuccessful in his mission.

Jacob Alrichs died December 20 (30), 1659, and Alexander d'Hinoyossa was made provisory director in his stead. The Swedes and Finns now numbered about 130 men who could bear arms according to the report of Van Dyck.[8a] Disputes arose among them about this time on account of the distribution of land, perhaps largely occasioned by the fact that many of the Finns did not understand Swedish, making business transactions difficult. In the spring of 1660 some twenty Swedish and Finnish families desired to remove to the neighborhood of New Amstel, but it appears that they were forbidden to do so. Later, however, D'Hinoyossa invited others to settle there. The Swedes and Finns contrived throughout this period to trade with the savages, but they were somewhat restricted in their freedom by D'Hinoyossa, giving rise to complaints and dissatisfactions.

The Swedes and Finns were very successful in cultivating the land, and many of them undoubtedly had attained prosperity, and they were very desirable in the colony, requests being made that more agriculturists be sent here, "not Hollanders, however, but other nations and especially Finns and Swedes, who are good farmers." A grist mill was built by Johan Stålkofta (Stalcop), L. Petersson and Hans Block in the summer of 1662 at the Falls of the Turtle Kill and the old mill erected by Printz was kept in repair.

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[8] *Doc.*, II., XII.

[8a] In August, 1657, Rev. Megapolensis wrote that "at least two hundred" Swedes and Finns lived above Ft. Christina. Jameson, *Nar. of N. Neth.*, p. 395.

In the autumn of 1663 the Swedes, Finns and other nations[9] had erected about 110 good boweries, stocked with about 200 cows and oxen, 20 horses, 80 sheep and several thousand swine. The settlers, as we have seen,[10] wrote to relatives and friends in Sweden, praising the land and inviting them to come over. They were also encouraged by the Dutch authorities to do so, and as a result several settlers arrived from Sweden from time to time. In the summer of 1663 the skipper Peter Luckassen brought a number of colonists to the South River, among whom were some 30 Swedes, and in December Alexander d'Hinoyossa arrived there with 150 colonists, including 32 or more Finns and probably some Swedes.[11]

The colony was peaceful as a rule also during this period. A few minor disturbances arose, however, and Evert Hindrickson, the Finn, was accused of maltreating Jöran Kyn and other grave complaints were made against him. He was brought into court, tried and banished from the colony as a dangerous character. Peter Meyer was also accused of disturbance and assaults and several other cases of like nature were brought into court. The Swedes and Finns continued to have their own officers and some were even employed in the service at the forts. Timon Stidden, who remained here, continued to act as barber-surgeon and he treated the ill and wounded as far as he was able. Witchcraft also played a role in the settlement in this period and Margareta Matsson was said to be a witch, as Henry Drystreet was told about this time. The fish in the river continued to be plentiful and the settlers obtained some provisions from this source as well as from hunting. Many deserted the colony on account of debts or for other reasons and a number went to settle among the English in Maryland; but a few returned from time to time.[12]

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[9] Probably Germans are meant. There were also a few Danes in the colony.

[10] Cf. above, Chap. LII.

[11] *Doc.*, XII. 421 ff.

[12] Peter Meyer ("a subject of Sweden") came into Maryland from New Amstel in 1661 with wife and children and was granted permission by the council to settle there.

Axel Stille (from New Amstel), Peter Jacobs[s]on, Marcus Sipherson

Little is known of the religious history of the Swedes and Finns during this period. According to the articles of surrender they were allowed to retain a minister of the Gospel of their own confession and were to be undisturbed in their services, a concession that was later regretted by some of the Dutch. Lars Lock remained here and he seems to have conducted regular services in the church at Tinicum. He was given a salary by the Swedish commissaries, probably raised by voluntary collections from the settlers. Rev. Lock continued to have trouble and in 1661 his wife was unfaithful to him and eloped with another man, causing inconvenience and law-suits. Having obtained a divorce, he married again, however, but the marriage was declared null and void by the Dutch authorities, because he performed the ceremony himself. Later he was fined 50 florins for marrying a young couple without proclamation in the church and against the will of their parents. He as well as Olof Stille objected to the interference of the Dutch court, saying that the consistory in Sweden alone had jurisdiction over the case. Rev. Lock also had other troubles, and one time he was "fearfully beaten and marked in his face" by Peter Meyer, who was summoned to appear in court, but the affair was settled between the parties themselves. Acrelius asserts that a priest by the name of Mathias came out here on the ship *Mercurius*, but he returned to Sweden with the vessel according to the same authority.[13] As many Lutherans resided at New Amstel who desired a minister, they applied for permission to call a young man by the name of Abelius Zetskorn or Setskorn to serve them. The Swedish commissaries at Tinicum desired to have him preach in their church, but Rev. Lock objected "to it with all his influence." Setskorn preached there

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(Sifversson), Clement Mickels[s]on, Andrew (Andreas) Clement[s]son, Hendrick Hendricks[s]on, Peter Montson (Månsson), Ma[t]thias Cornelisen(?), Hendrick Mathias[s]on, Joh[a]n Wheeler, Bartholimeus Hendricks[s]on, Cornelius Urins[s]on, Joh[a]n Urin[s]son, Andrew Toreson (Andreas Thors[s]on), Paul Joh[a]n[s]son, Gothofried Harmer are also given in the Md. Archives as coming from the Delaware. They were given permission to live there as "free dennizens." *Md. Archives,* III. 428–30.

[13] Cf. above.

on the second day of Pentecost, however, and he received a call as school-master with the same salary as the preacher enjoyed, but the people "of New Amstel would not let him go,"[14] and Lock remained alone among the Swedes and Finns, north of New Amstel. The population was now too large for the work of one preacher and besides the language question complicated matters. Many of the Finns could not understand Swedish during the first years and these were without religious instruction. As time went on, however, the Swedish language became predominant, the Finns and Dutch gradually acquiring the same.[15]

In the autumn of 1663 the entire Delaware district was transferred to the city of Amsterdam and D'Hinoyossa was made commander. The Swedes and Finns were now absolved from their former oaths and required to swear new allegiance. This they refused to do, unless they were granted "the same privileges in trading and other matters as they had had under the government of the Hon. Company," being inclined rather to remove than to submit to the conditions offered them.

Many new plantations had now been begun by the Swedish and Finnish settlers and land grants were made and confirmed by the Dutch. The customs and manners remained the same as in the former period, the bath-house, the Finnish and Swedish log-cabins, the splinter-sticks, and all the other utensils and implements, which we have learned to know in previous chapters, continued to be used. The domestic animals had greatly increased, the fields were comparatively numerous and in many cases large, and the settlement had acquired a certain stability and form. The colony had not been a success from the Dutch point of view, however. Thousands of florins were borrowed and expended and other thousands were needed to put the colony on a prosperous footing.

In 1664 rumors of a Swedish attempt at recapturing the

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[14] There is no direct evidence that the Swedes tried to get rid of Lock as is stated by Norberg, p. 6, Smith, *Hist. of Del. Co.*, p. 90.

[15] *Doc.*, XII., II.

The Swedish Settlements on the Delaware

PART II.

THE COLONY, 1638–1643.

CHAPTER XX.

The Early History of the Delaware until 1638.

The material before us naturally falls into two main divisions—the outer and inner history, or *the political history* and *the social and economic life of the colony*.

The life of the colonists has hitherto been neglected or only sparingly treated, for the material at the disposal of former writers on the subject has been meager, contemporary accounts giving mere glimpses of these things. "One would gladly know how the founders of Quebec spent the long hours of their first winter," says Parkman, "but on this point the only man [Champlain] among them, perhaps, who could write, has not thought it necessary to enlarge."[1] In like manner Printz gives full accounts of the quarrels with the Dutch and the English, but how the people lived, the kind of houses they built, the clothes they wore and other things we should like to know, he does not mention. Lindeström, Campanius and Rising describe the country and the Indians and they give many facts of great interest and value for the historian of the settlement, but again we look almost in vain for "social facts."

From other sources, however, account-books, bills and memorials, we are able to draw some material, and from these, supplemented by our knowledge of conditions in Sweden and Finland, we shall endeavor to construct a picture of "social New Sweden," imperfect, it is true, but as satisfactory as the materials allow.[2] The government of the colony, the trade and

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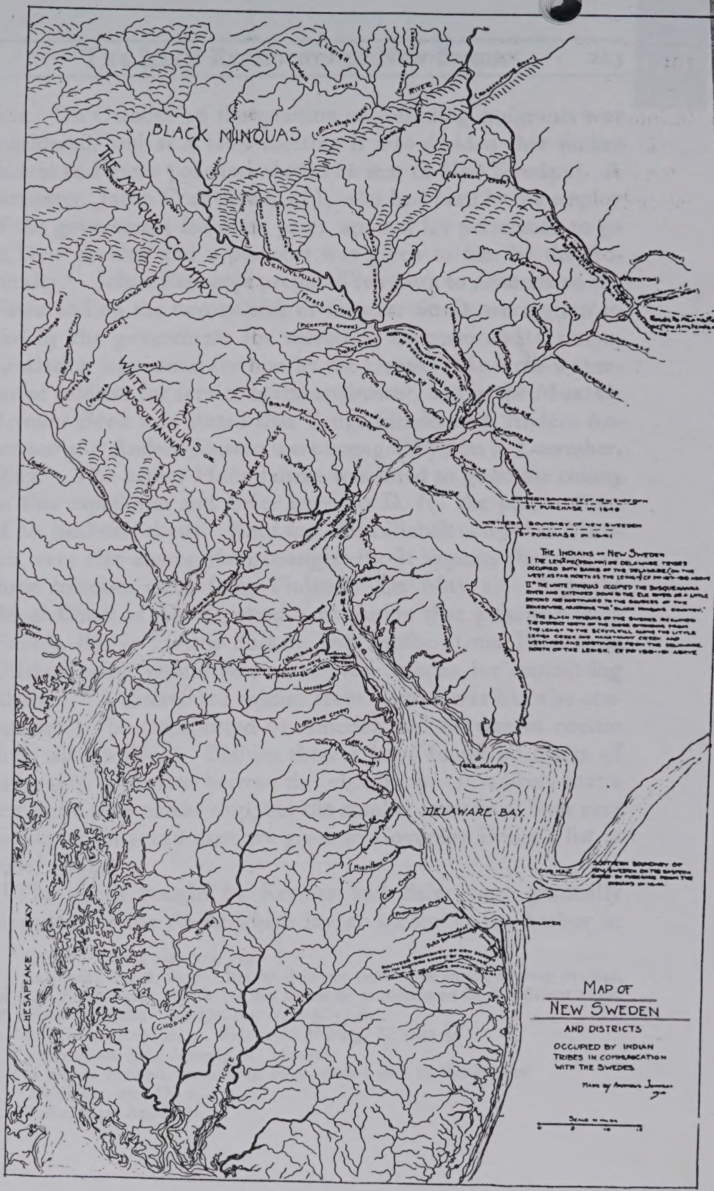
[1] *Pion. of Fr. in the New World*, p. 342.

[2] Most of these account books were unknown to Odhner, Sprinchorn and other writers on New Sweden.


BLACK MINQUAS
THE MINQUAS COUNTRY
WHITE MINQUAS or SUSQUEHANNAS
SCHUYLKILL
DELAWARE
DELAWARE BAY
CHESAPEAKE BAY
CHOPTANK
NANTICOKE
CAPE MAY
HINLOPEN
NORTHERN BOUNDARY OF NEW SWEDEN BY PURCHASE IN 1640
NORTHERN BOUNDARY OF NEW SWEDEN BY PURCHASE IN 1641
THE INDIANS OF NEW SWEDEN
SOUTHERN BOUNDARY OF NEW SWEDEN
MAP OF NEW SWEDEN AND DISTRICTS OCCUPIED BY INDIAN TRIBES IN COMMUNICATION WITH THE SWEDES

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE SIXTH EXPEDITION TO NEW SWEDEN AND THE TRADING VOYAGE TO THE CARIBBEAN ISLANDS, 1643–1647.

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Before the *Fama* and the *Swan* left Europe in November, 1642, preparations were under way for a new expedition. Admiral Fleming was untiring in his activity for the company, and he was assisted by Beier, Kramer, Schotting, Trotzig and Spiring.[1] From August until December Trotzig bought goods in Holland to the amount of several thousand florins,[2] and in the spring and summer of 1643 he continued to purchase goods and supplies on the admiral's order. The merchandise was shipped to Gothenburg, and placed in the care of Schotting. About 1,700 D. in cash and goods were furnished in Gothenburg on Fleming's account by Per Bengtsson and Måns Andersson,[3] and Schotting bought cloth, ready-made clothes, shoes, stockings and other things, while Beier and Kramer purchased axes, saws, mill stones, cloth, and the like in Stockholm.[4] In the autumn 84,000 bricks,[5] and 12,000 tiles were purchased for the company by Trotzig and sent to Sweden, and 6,000 of these bricks besides a ton of lime were loaded upon the *Fama*.[6]

In the autumn of 1643 the Council of State discussed the colonial enterprise at a number of meetings. The salt brought from Portugal was to be used for the benefit of the company and other provisions were made for the expenses of the expedi-

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[1] Extr. fr. Queen's letter to Spiring, August 22, 1645. *Söderk.*, 1637–59 (R.A.). I could find no letter from the Queen to Spiring dated August 22 in the R.R. There is one, however, dated August 24, 1645 (Lat. and G., fol. 175–6).

[2] *Journal*, nos. 220, 238. "Carg. Rech. von P. Trotzig überg. ult. Dec. 1642." N.S., I. (R.A.). The entire bill including all expenses, was 10,004:18 fl.

[3] "Flemings fogdar."

[4] *Journal*, nos. 233 ff., 304 ff.; Beier's *Acc. Book*, 1643. The goods were paid for by drafts sent from Stockholm by Beier.

[5] "84,000 moppen."

[6] Beier's *Acc. Book*, October 1, 1643, N.S., I. (K.A.). Bills in *Söderk.*, 1637–59 (R.A.). Cf. below.

tion. On October 16 the question of collecting emigrants was considered, and at a later meeting it was decided that timber thieves and game poachers should be sent to New Sweden.[7] A carpenter, Jacob Cornelisson (?), who had been in the employ of the government for some years, applied for permission to go to New Sweden and a passport was given to him by the Admiralty.[8] Johan Papegoja prepared to return to America on the *Fama* and on the twenty-fifth of October 60 D. were given to him by the government for travelling expenses and a recommendation was issued for him by the Queen. He hired a number of soldiers for service in the settlement, and in the *Monthly Account Book* it is stated that Bengt Hindersson, Anders Andersson and Anders Jönsson were engaged by him in December, 1643.[9] The barber Hans Janeke was hired to go to the colony on this expedition and Beier gave 60 D. for the preparations of his medicine chests. Knut and Per Liljehök and Johan Matsson were also among the passengers.[10] It appears that two or three colonists came from Finland. On May 18, 1643, the Royal Court at Åbo[11] passed a resolution that a farmer from Nautila By, in Hvittis Socken, and another from Påmark in Ulfsby Socken should be sent to New Sweden for committing adultery. A discredited soldier from Cajana was likewise condemned to be transported to America and he was to remain there all his life.[12] Besides these I have found no traces of emigrants, who came here on this expedition. It is likely that a few more were on the ship, but the number must have been very small, for only 120 men are given in Governor Printz's list in June, 1644.[13]

The goods bought by Kramer and Beier were gradually loaded upon the *Fama* which lay at anchor in the harbor at

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[7] *Rådspr.*, X. 265, 280, 307, 354.

[8] Am. Reg., Oct. 8, 1643. But he does not seem to be in the country in 1644, for Gov. Printz omits him in his list, unless he is mentioned by a different name. Cf. below, Appendix. See Odhner, *N.S.*, p. 37 ff.

[9] R.R., October 25, 1643. Fol. 1151; *Monatg. B.*, 1642–56.

[10] *Journal*, no. 325; *Monatg. B.*, 1642–56.

[11] A city in Finland, on the west coast, almost west of Helsingfors.

[12] *Tidningar*, etc., IX. p. 235.

[13] *Rulla*, 1644, Appendix.

had no authority to pay him, but referred the matter to Oxenstierna. The chancellor ordered that he should receive full pay, or 10 R.D. a month for his entire service in New Sweden and 720 D. were given him, but he was not satisfied with this, as he claimed pay for the time occupied by the journey coming and going including expenses, "as though he had had a regular appointment."[34]

Johan Campanius, who was called by the government to go to New Sweden in 1642, was placed on the new budget, with a salary of 10 R.D. a month and he seems to have been looked upon as a sort of a military preacher. He was to be stationed at Christina, but shortly after his arrival here he was transferred to Upland, where he settled with his family and conducted the service at New Gothenborg. On account of this change there was some uncertainty about who should pay his salary and 100 D.k.m., which were paid to him in 1642 before he sailed, were transferred from the budget account to the general account of the New Sweden Company.

Campanius was the most important, and he has deservedly become the best known of the early Swedish preachers on the Delaware. He worked hard and diligently and officiated on all festive occasions. The settlements were far apart, making it impossible for the colonists to come to the central place of worship "on account of a great many inconveniences and hindrances," hence Campanius was often "obliged without any regard to the weather to go from one place to the other to visit the settlers with the Word and the Sacrament."[35] He also labored to convert the Indians and learned their language and they often came to listen to his sermons in silent wonder.

He seems to have farmed a tract of land at Upland (probably the homestead later occupied by Nertunius), and in 1648 he sold a calf to Olof Stille, before his departure for Sweden,[36]

1648

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[34] *Journal,* nos. 609 ff., 648; Beier to Oxenstierna, July 29, August 25, 1647, *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.).

[35] Campanius to the Archbishop, January 30, 1647 (transl. in *Arch. Ame.,* etc., II. 2 ff., Penn. Hist. So.).

[36] "Förklaring," etc., July 7, 1654.

indicating that he raised cattle and had cows and probably horses and oxen. In 1647 he became weary of his charge (being the only minister in the colony), and wrote to the archbishop, requesting his recall. "I have," he says, "hazarded both life and prosperity," and he prays the bishop to confer upon him "a benefice, which could support him with his wife and numerous little children," when he was finally allowed to return home. He presented four reasons, which in his opinion entitled him to be recalled and to be given a post in Sweden. In the first place he "was well on in years," poor in health and could not endure "the hard labor here." "The second reason for my recall," he says, "is the lengthy period I have been in this country . . . well nigh five years with great danger of death night and day in a heathenish country, amongst these ferocious pagans, who for every year have threatened to slay us completely." Thirdly, his business at home demanded his presence there, and fourthly, he did not wish to be left breadless in old age, "without having anything wherewith to comfort" himself.[37]

But Campanius did not leave his congregations without thinking of their welfare, and he urged the consistory to send over other men. The settlements were situated from fourteen to thirty miles apart, hence at least two or three ministers were needed, especially "some one who was young, strong and agile and who could endure a continual passing from place to place."[38] Requests to this effect were also made by Governor Printz. The authorities in Sweden endeavored to supply the religious wants of the people. In the first place Oxenstierna advised the governor to pay the minister better, who was already here, so that he would be willing to remain,[39] and secondly he wrote to the consistory at Gothenburg, requesting them to send another preacher to the Delaware.[40]

As a result of these activities, Rev. Lars Karlsson Lock was

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[37] Letter to Archbishop, January 30, 1647, N.S., I. (Up.).

[38] Campanius to the Archbishop, January 30, 1647; *Relation,* 1647.

[39] It seems that the chancellor had forgotten how the preacher was paid.

[40] Oxenstierna to Printz, Septemper 7, 1647, *Ox. Saml.* (concept).

Still another peculiarity of this jury was its permanency; the jurymen were appointed for life, and hence the same jury sat at every court in the same district.[31] The number was originally twelve, and twelve jurymen are often or generally found at the courts at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century;[32] but the number varied and as many as twenty-four are mentioned; while seven must be present if the court was to be legal.[33]

The jury was therefore of much importance, but its power

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non potest, verè an falsò jurent: qualicunq: enim eorum assertioni standum est et judicandum. Si tamen evidente argumento falsum jurasse convincantur (id quod de jure Donico, non judex, sed Episcopus provinciae et alij ejusdem probi et cordati viri, de jure Gothico vero superjus judicium cognoscere debebant) mulctantur in bonis, de caetero perjuri et intestabiles. De cōsvetudine vero hodie Nembda ex officio judicis participat, confusis enim officiis simul de facto et jure cognoscunt et dijudicant tanquam Assessores, judice tantum praesidente, itaq. vota ipsorum et suffragia vel ipse judex de jure colligit vel judex facti, qui unus est ex Nembdariis et proprie ab ipsis iudex nominatur, cum iudicem de iure, iuris tantum ac legis lectorem nuncupent. Hic tam de iure quam de facto disserentes audit, et ut evitetur omnis oblocutio et confusio, sententias eorum placide in iudicium profert, ex quibus iudices ut plurimum pendent" (pp. 60–61).

[31] This, however, was not always the case. Hildebrand, quoting Schlyter, states that the *nämd* of the "hundaresting" was originally not "fast," that is it was subject to change. Later it became "fast" under the name of *härads-nämd*. The other institution of *nämdemän* was "fast" from the very earliest times. Its duty was to seek truth ("sanning leta"); but there were also certain juries, whose duty was to pronounce judgment. These two functions were later combined. Cf. Fahlcrantz, *Rättf. i rättssk.,*" etc., I. 34–5; Hildebrand, *Sv. statsf.*, pp. 46–7.

[32] In Chap. 10 of *Christoffer's laws* we read: "Der skola *de XII i nämden sitta,* som svurit hafva efter konungsboken," and Stiernhöök, quoting from Chap. 42 of *Edzores B.*, says: "Ther skulu *Tolf tilnämpnas* som dhet malit ransaka skulu." *De Jure,* p. 56. Stiernhöök further writes: "Itaq., vel judex ipse vel praefectus provinciae Regius (utrumq. enim de jure extat) Nembdam constituebat, viros honestos, domicilij certos, binos, trinos vel etiam senos ex singulis territorij quadrantibus, qui quod deputati essent, Nämbdemän, quod duodecim Tolfmän, quod senes Oldungar, nominati fuerunt." *De Jure,* p. 54.

[33] At a court in *Upsala Lagsaga* in January, 1578, twelve *nämdemän* are mentioned, the same number at another court in March and in May the following year. (All these were Konungsting.) But at a court in 1586 there were 20 jurymen and in 1599 a court is on record where only 7 jurymen were present. As many as 23 and 24 are also mentioned. At the *Lagmansting* the number of jurymen also varied from 12 (the most common number) to 24. But in *Häradsting* it seems that the jurymen were most often 12 in number. See Fahlcrantz; *Rättf. i rättssk.,* etc., I. pp. 45, 55, 63, 68, 86, 116, 127, 142, ff., 257 ff. Cf. Hildebrand, *Sv. statsf.*, p. 142 ff., 146 ff.

began to decline in the period covered by the Swedish occupation of the Delaware, and the members were often "treated as nonentities and assisting shadows."[34] In 1640 a commission was appointed to investigate the situation and in the memorial, which the commissioners submitted, they say that those judges, who undertook to examine and pronounce judgment alone, without the jury could not be made to pay too big a penalty, showing that abuse of the old principles was common.[35] That these practices also obtained on the Delaware is certain. We have instances where members of the jury gave testimony, where the jury and judge examined the witnesses and jointly pronounced the judgment, but cases are also referred to, where the judge, in this case Printz, gave his judgment alone, without proper examination or reference to the jury.[36] In all these instances, however, Printz undoubtedly tried to follow the custom used in Sweden, judging cases according to the common Swedish laws and "the law of God and Moses."[37]

We have two fairly complete and detailed reports or protocols of courts held here and some references to others, and in order to give the reader an idea of how the courts were conducted, we shall quote at large from the minutes.

At the special court held on July 10, 1643, a mixed jury was appointed. It seems that Christer Boije acted as judge, since his name occurs first on the list. It appears that Hendrick Huygen was secretary or clerk. The minutes of the court, preserved to us in a defective copy, state that "Anno 1643 on the tenth of July, at Fort Christina, a case (rechtsake) was examined and judged in the name of Her Royal Majesty of Sweden, between Governor Johan Printz, plaintiff, and Mr.

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[34] The jury finally lost most of its power. Hildebrand, *Sv. statsf.*, p. 293; Blackstone, *Commentaries,* Book III., Chap. 23, Section 381. "In Sweden the trial by jury, that bulwark of northern liberty, which continued in its full vigour so lately as the middle of the last century, is now fallen into disuse." Cf. also the references given by Blackstone.

[35] See Odhner, *Sv. in. hist.*, pp. 178 ff., 195 ff.; Hildebrand, *Sv. statsf.*, 286; Fahlcrantz, *Rättf. i rättssk.*, p. 246 ff.

[36] See below.

[37] Cf. above (Introduction).

the pleasure of Her Royal Majesty and the Right Hon. Company."[42]

Several other courts are also on record, at which individual colonists were tried for misdemeanors. The Swedes were prohibited from trading privately with the Dutch, but it seems that the orders were not strictly lived up to, giving rise to litigations and trouble. "Per Gunnarsson was summoned to court on a charge of selling grain to the Dutch and, [when he] appeared before the court, the governor asked him how much rye he had sold to the Hollanders," pronouncing judgment, it seems, without proper regard to the jury nor the hearing of witnesses in this case.[43] The settlers were likewise forbidden to sell arms and ammunition to the savages. Knut Persson left a gun with Per Kock, requesting him to sell it to the Indians. The gun was later stolen by the savages (or sold to them).[44] News reached the governor and Per Kock was summoned to answer at court, since Persson had died in the meantime. If we are to believe a "complaint" against Printz, presented to Director Rising in 1654, the former disregarded the opinion of the jurors also in this case and told them that he would do, "not what seems [right] to them," but what he wished, [and Per Kock was condemned] "to do work for the company for three months, on his own board." For some crime or misdemeanor, "a lawful sentence" was passed on Anders the Finn, depriving him of a certain amount of rye, and imposing other fines.

In 1653 there was much trouble in New Sweden and in the autumn the situation reached a crisis. Ships did not arrive, some colonists deserted and a "revolt" arose against Governor Printz. Several colonists had real or imaginary grievances against the governor. A written supplication in eleven articles,

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[42] *Court Rec.*, N.S., I. (R.A.); *Report*, 1647, *Penn. Mag.*, VII., p. 273.

[43] "Förklaring," July 7, 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.).

[44] The report submitted to Rising states that Per Kock did not dare to sell the gun; but Persson said, "when the governor sells so many guns, why should I not dare to sell mine. . . . Then the gun was stolen from Per Kock by the savages," "Förklaring," etc.

signed by twenty-two settlers,[45] was presented to him on July 27. It states that the colonists were "at no hour or time secure as to life and property"; it complained that they were all prohibited from trading with either the savages or Christians, although the governor never refrained from grasping an opportunity of traffic with these parties; the governor was accused of brutality and avarice and of passing judgment in his own favor against the opinions of the jury; he was accused of forbidding the colonists from grinding the flour at the mill and of prohibiting them the use of the "fish-waters, the trees in the woods, the grass on the ground and the land to plant on, from which they had their nourishment." The petition then prayed that Anders the Finn might be released from his fine, "in order that his wife and children should not starve to death."

On account of these and other troubles, the petitioners said, they were obliged to send two men to Her Royal Majesty and the Hon. Company in the mother country to ascertain if they were entirely neglected . . . and what they should do, since they were not able (allowed?) to seek their subsistence in this country." The petition kindled the wrath of the governor. Anders Jönsson, who appears to have been the leader of the opposition, was arrested, tried and "executed [on a charge of treachery] . . . on August 1, 1653."[46] Rev. Lock was also involved in the disturbance, but for some reason his freedom and office were not interfered with.

Two days after the execution of Anders Jönsson, the governor made a written reply to the charges. The petitioners were addressed as rebels and their petition was answered point for point. Only the fur trade with the savages was forbidden them

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[45] These names are (in the order of their signatures): Mats Hansson, Olof Stille, Axel Stille, Johan Hwiler, Hindrick Matsson, Ifvar Hindricksson, Måns Andersson, Olof Ericksson, Hindrick Matss[on] the Finn, Valerius Loo, Hans Månsson, Peter Jochim, Anders Andersson, Per Rambo, Peter Kock, Sven Gunnarsson, Anders Hansson, Mårten Mårtensson, Klas Johansson, Johan Fysk, Lars Thomasson Bross. Complaint (copy), N.S., I. (R.A.).

[46] *Monatg. B.*, 1642–56, fol. 51, 81. Anders Jönsson was hired by Johan Papegoja on December 1, 1643, to serve as soldier in New Sweden for a salary of 4 R.D. a month. He remained in the service until he was arrested, but he had received goods and cash amounting to 525:19 R.D., leaving him in debt to the company for 57:19 R.D.

v.1 of 2 volumes

1653,

:RETURN VIA:

THE
SWEDISH SETTLEMENTS ON THE DELAWARE

THEIR HISTORY AND RELATION TO THE INDIANS, DUTCH AND ENGLISH

1638-1664

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE SOUTH, THE NEW SWEDEN, AND THE AMERICAN COMPANIES, AND THE EFFORTS OF SWEDEN TO REGAIN THE COLONY

VOLUME II

BY

AMANDUS JOHNSON, Ph.D.
INSTRUCTOR AT THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
SOMETIME HARRISON FELLOW FOR RESEARCH AT THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
SECRETARY OF THE SWEDISH COLONIAL SOCIETY
MEMBER OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA, ETC.

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He was skilled in all kinds of manual arts.[40] He made his wagons and his sleds, his plows and his harrows, his rakes and his hay-forks; he made his shoes of wood, birchbark or leather; he made his furniture, his wooden spoons and dippers, his cups and saucers and practically everything he used, and the Swedish housewife could weave, knit and sew skillfully. Since the common people never lost their freedom to the same extent as in other European countries, poverty was less prevalent in Sweden than elsewhere at this time, and Ogier says that "the Swedish peasants were neither poorly nor inconveniently dressed, and prosperity was more evenly divided in Sweden than in other countries."[41]

The national consciousness was strong. It was an epoch when Swedish generals led victorious armies over half of Europe, it was an age when Swedish statesmen held the destinies of nations in their hands. There was an enthusiasm for Swedish language and Swedish history. Foreign ambassadors were welcomed in Swedish—"the mother of the other languages"—and foreign representatives were addressed in the same tongue, if they were pretentious enough to use their native speech. It was a period when Swedish scholars delved into the misty past and located the cradle of the human race in their country; when Swedish kings dreamed of world-power, and when Swedish leaders stretched their arms across the oceans and made settlements on two continents, that were to become *New Swedens*. The enthusiasm of youth permeated the nation and drove it on to deeds that an older power of twice its size would not have attempted. Patriotism ran high and national pride verged on chauvinism. No wonder that Printz with a handful of men talked the language of a general with an army at his back to

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[40] "*Slöjd.*"

[41] Sillén, IV. 90. For conditions in Sweden in this period see Fryxell, *Hand.*, I. 66 ff. (extracts of Juel's letters to the Danish government); Whitelocke's *Embassy; De la Gard. Arch.*, X. p. 41 ff.; Lundin och Strindberg, *Gamla Stockholm; Hist. Tid.*, I. xx ff.; Brahe, *Oeconomia* (written in 1581); Carlberg, J. O., *Hist. saml. om Sv. bergsverk*, etc., 91 ff.; Mankell, J., *Stockh. i forna dagar.;* Holmberg, *Bohusläns historia;* Granberg, *Götheborgs beskrifning; Per Brahes tänkebok.*

give emphasis to his words, and that Rising with high-handed authority captured Fort Casimir.

Conditions in Finland, whence many of the Delaware colonists came, resembled those in Sweden. The country, being united with Sweden since the Middle Ages, had absorbed much of the superior culture of its conquerors and adopted their religion.[42] In 1639 a bishop related that the people "can read their pieces from the catechism and morning and evening prayers" and Terserus, bishop in Åbo (Turko), asserted that "it had come so far that almost all below [the age of] twenty or thirty years are able to read their mother tongue fluently." Quite similar reports came from other bishops. The Swedish language had made great headway among the Finns at this time, and Andreas Bureus wrote about 1630 that "the nobility of Finland, burghers and priests as well as the richer farmers see to it that their children learn Swedish already in the cradle," making it easy for the Finns and Swedes to associate.

The country was poor and the Finns seem to have had a great desire to migrate, large numbers going to Sweden and other places. It has been said that the Finn was lazy and indolent at home and that he would rather spend his time over the fireplace of his primitive dwelling than clear away the forests or sow his grain, but in new surroundings he became industrious and "worked for two."[43]

The population of Sweden and Finland was about one million in 1645, making these extensive areas very sparsely settled.[44] The entire city population was only about 125,000.[45] Queen Christina's remark in 1649, when two hundred Finns applied for permission to go to America, that she found it strange that they should ask for such permission, when there

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[42] For a good account of Finnish history from the time of the Swedish conquests to 1600 see Yrjö Koskinen, *Finlands historia*, I. 26–285.

[43] For a short sketch of the social condition of Finland in the 17th Century see *Finlands hist.*, I. 272 ff. Cf. Westling, *Sv. folkund. hist.*, p. 86. Cf. also *Usselinx' letters to Oxenstierna. Ox. Saml.* (R.A.).

[44] There were about 120 inhabitants to every Swedish square mile, a Swedish mile being more than six and one half English miles.

[45] Odhner, *Sv. in. hist.*, 349; Carlson, *Hist.*, I. 16 ff.

In the autumn of 1651 a *Northern Company* was organized, which seems to have conducted trade with foreign ports.[28]

In 1652 privileges were granted to Daniel Junge[29] and four others for the establishment of a "*Fish-company* according to the use and manner which was customary in Hamburg and other commercial cities on the Baltic Sea."[30]

A new *Russian Company* was organized in 1653 through Pierre Terreau, and Nils Nilsson, Nils Skunck, Truls Kåhre and a large number of others became stockholders. Terreau was appointed factor. The first trading expedition was successful, giving a dividend of 25 per cent. "which was added to the capital (38,000 R.D.)." The second expedition, however, ruined the company. A large quantity of rhubarb was purchased from Czar Alexis Michaelivitsch, but it seems that fraud was practiced both by the Czar and Terreau and the company came to an end in a few years, although lawsuits and litigation about the transactions were instituted in Holland, Germany and Sweden as late as 1672.[31]

Planer och Åtgärder rörande Sjöröf. på Madagascar (about the plans of Swedish colonization and occupation of Madagascar); for *New Sweden in South America*, see *Nya Sverige i Södra Amerika*, etc. (no author given), Stockh., 1841; Hildebrand, *Den sv. legenden i Guiana, Hist. Tid.*, 1899, p. 71 ff.; Edmundson, G., *Eng. Hist. Review.*

[28] It owned at least one ship *Härnösand.* R.R. Aug. 26, 1651; Oct. 8, 1652, etc.

[29] Who later became director of the American Company.

[30] Stiernman, *Kungl. bref.*, etc., II. 682 ff. (dated Mar. 4, 1652). Cf. Starbäck, *Berät.*, V. 556.

[31] Wieselgren, *De la Gard. Arch.*, X. p. 176 ff.

[32] In 1665 a scheme for a large English-Swedish trading company was conceived by some English merchants and a charter was drafted. The company should consist of Englishmen and Swedes, with equal privileges in both countries; the capital of the company should be placed at from £200,000 to £260,000, one third to be furnished by the Swedish stockholders, either in goods or money; a number of directors, chosen by both nations "to rule the trade," should constitute a college and Englishmen and Swedes should preside alternately at the meetings; the whole trade of the kingdom of Sweden should be in the hands of the company and all goods in Sweden such as tar, masts, iron, copper, grain, etc., should be exchanged for "the commodities and manufactories of England and the East Indies or other southern parts" at a certain price to be agreed upon, but if the balance of trade was in Sweden's favor, the company should pay the difference in cash; no new mills or iron furnaces should be erected in Sweden during the existence of the charter without consent of the

The above is not a complete list of the companies organized or planned in Sweden during this period, but those that have been mentioned will give us an idea of the great activity along these lines.[32]

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company; only Swedish and English vessels should be used and one third of the goods should be carried in Swedish ships.

A copy of the charter was delivered by Lord Arlington to H. Coventry at Stockholm on May 31, 1665, for presentation to the Swedish government. It was referred to Count Leijonberg, the Swedish ambassador to England, who inserted "his private observations and sentiments touching these articles," and returned the charter. It was an ambitious plan, not unlike that proposed by Willem Usselinx, a quarter of a century before, but to monopolize the Swedish trade by one company, would have required, even in 1665, a larger capital than it was possible to raise. Leijonberg, observing this and making other objections to the charter, did not favor the plan and nothing seems to have come out of it.

In the draft of the charter are answers to these objections by some Englishman.

Copy of the paper delivered by Lord Arlington to Mr. H. Coventry at Stockholm, May 31, 1665; "Paper del. to me by Mr. Vice Chamberlain from Mr. H. Coventry," etc. *State Papers, For., Sweden, No. 5, 1639–65*, Public Record Office, London; another copy in *Treaty Papers, 1618–72, No. 69*, P.R. Office, London.

(3). Per Johansson(?)

(4). Johan Ericksson ....

(5). Anders Hansson, the brother of the constaple (gunner).......

(6). Jacob Sprint ....

(7). Paul Jöransson ....

(8). Axel Stille[34] ....

(9). Henrick Matsson, a boy. He shall have a salary of 10 R.A. a year and he received 10 D. copper money on departing.

(10). Johan, a boy ....

(11). Olof Erickson, a boy..................................

(12, 13, 14, 15, 16). Måns Svensson (Loom),[35] a tailor, who has also been a lieutenant. He intends to begin agriculture in the colony. He received 5 R.D. on departing but otherwise no salary or monthly wage. Goes with his wife, two almost grown up daughters and a little son.

(17, 18, 19, 20). Olof Stille, a mill-maker,[36] who will begin farming there. He received 50 R.D. copper money, but he seeks no pay. He will be paid, however, for what he does for the company or for what he supplies. He has a wife, and two children, one seven the other one and a half years of age.

(21). Mats Hansson, one of Fleming's servants.[37] He is to have no pay, but to be supplied only with necessary clothing [and food], because he has committed some offense, and must go along as a punishment.[38]

(22). Per Kock, an imprisoned soldier from Smedjegården.[39] He must serve as a soldier for penalty, and is to receive necessary sustenance and clothing.

(23). Karl Johansson,[40] formerly bookkeeper at Kexholm,[41] who

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[34] These eight were all to serve as soldiers.

[35] The word is written above the name in the original, showing that it was omitted and put in later. Such "tillnamn" ("additional names") generally have some meaning, as Matts *skräddare* (tailor), etc., or they indicate the district whence the man came. *Lom* is a water-fowl (loon, diver). There is also a Lomma in southern Sweden.

[36] "Oloff Stille ein Müehlen Macher." The expression undoubtedly means that he was a mill-wright ("mill-builder"), perhaps a maker of mill-stones (?).

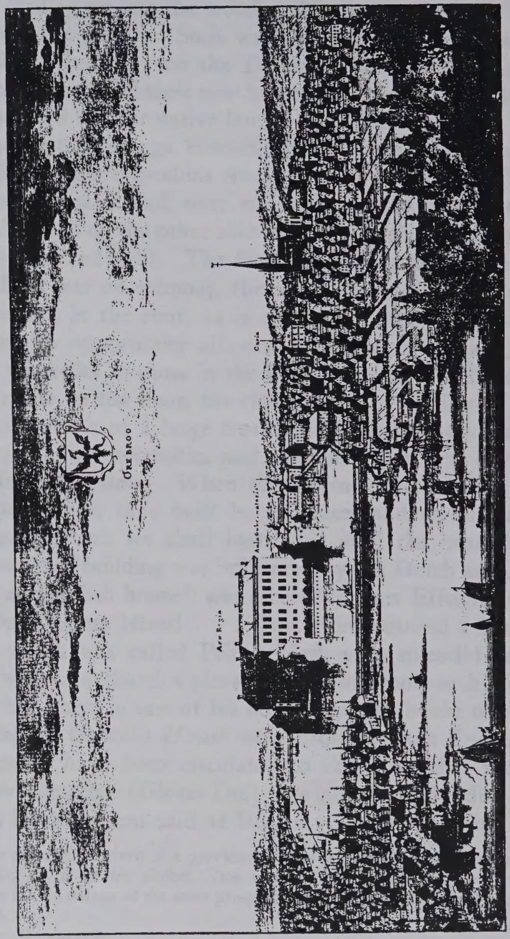
[37] The original has "knecht," and from the context it would appear to have the German meaning of servant; but in no. 1, 2 and 22 "knecht" seems to have its Swedish meaning of soldier.

[38] His crime is not mentioned, but it was not very grievous, it seems. Cf. above.

[39] Imprisoned soldiers in Stockholm were kept in Smedjegården.

[40] In the original the name is first written "Carl Jönsson," then above this "Johansson" has been inserted.

[41] A little town in Finland on Lake Ladoga, almost directly north of St.



Örebro in the seventeenth century. (*Svecia Antiqua.*) See p. 148, n. 15.

hole, leading up into the wooden chimney on the roof, tends to increase the gloom. Such was the early Finnish (and some Swedish) dwellings on the Delaware, but the freemen lived happy and enjoyed their new homes, for many of the difficulties encountered in their native land were absent here.

The first dwellings erected by the Swedish colonists were likewise simple log-cabins made of round timber. The door was on the gable end, over which the roof projected three or four feet and on the other side were two or three little openings which admitted light. The first fires were made on the ground and there was no chimney, the smoke finding its way through an opening in the roof, as in the case of the Finnish houses. As soon as opportunity allowed a fireplace was made, on the same principles as those in the Finnish huts. The beds, which were made on the floor, the chairs made by cutting off a piece from the trunk of a large tree and a table near the wall were among the first necessities and continued to be the only furniture for some time. When the freemen increased in wealth and prosperity, they built large houses and made many improvements, but we shall leave this until the next chapter.[9] The mode of building was influenced by the Dutch and English and "an English house" was erected in Fort Elfsborg.[10]

"On Tinicum Island . . . Gov. Printz caused a Hall to be built, which was called Printz Hall, very splendid and well built, with an orchard, a pleasure house and more such things."[11] Churchill states in one of his novels that the bricks used in the building of *Carvel's House* were brought from England and "legends" have been circulated to the effect that the "Old Swedes' Church" (Gloria Dei) was built from Swedish bricks! It has likewise been said as late as 1909 that "Printz Hall"

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[9] The description given in a previous chapter largely applies to the houses built in the beginning of this period. One or two little "glass windows" would be added to the dwellings of the most prosperous settlers and other conveniences were supplied.

[10] *Acc. B.*, 1643–8.

[11] Lindeström, *Geogr. Amer.;* Holm, p. 79 (transl.); Acrelius, p. 43 (transl.). This description, however, refers to *Printz Hall No. 2* (the one built after the fire).

did not take possession of the land and he is undoubtedly correct, although Fernow thinks otherwise,[16] for in 1647 Root attempted to build at Wicacoa and in 1651 Jan Andriessen and Pieter Harmensen are said to be "inhabitants and traders on the river, residing at Fort Nassau."[17] It is not likely that Abraham Planck went there alone and there is no mention of a Dutch settlement at that place in the Swedish records.[18]

About the same time (autumn of 1646) the Dutch also planned to make settlements north of present Philadelphia and Governor Kieft ordered his commissary at the South River to buy certain "lands from the Indians lying on the West shore distant about one league to the north of Fort Nassau." The letter containing these instructions was handed to Hudde on the twenty-eighth of August. The owner was absent, hunting at the time, but Hudde, who would take no risks of being anticipated by Printz, erected the arms of the company the next day on the selected lands, thus taking possession of them over two weeks before the purchase was made. On September 15 "the owner" returned from his hunt and deeds setting forth the limits of the district were drawn up and signed. "Having concluded the purchase, the proprietor went with Hudde in person and the Hon. Company's arms being fixed to a pole, this was set in the ground on the extreme boundary." The exact limits of the purchase cannot be determined from the meagre sources at our disposal, but they included Wicacoa and undoubtedly stretched northward along the river for some miles.[19]

The Swedes had already acquired title to the same territory and entanglements and troubles were sure to follow. Shortly after the purchase was made some freemen prepared to build there and a dwelling as well as a block-house were soon erected,

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[16] Acrelius (tr.), 84; Fernow, *Doc.*, XII. 27, note.

[17] *Doc.*, I. 594, 597.

[18] For reference to Abraham Planck (or Blanck) see *Doc.*, I. 151, 191, 193, 195, 197, 199, 356, 388, 411, 415. See also index. In 1648 Simon Root and Pieter Harmensen were ordered by Stuyvesant to build on Mastmaker's Hook in the Schuylkill. For further references to Root, see *Doc.*, XII. 38, 40, 44, 46, 48, 50, 53, 57, 66, 371.

[19] *Doc.*, XII. 32.

but when Printz became aware of these activities he built a guard-house on the land and sent "his quarter master and other Swedes" to tear down and destroy the Dutch buildings. A little later Huygen was sent to remove the Dutch arms from the upper limits of the land. Meeting Hudde on his return, he protested orally against the Dutch encroachments of the Swedish rights and admonished the Dutch *commiss* to desist from causing further injuries to the Swedish Crown. Hudde in return protested against the improprieties of the Swedes and requested Huygen to present the facts to Printz, in order that the latter might deal out punishment to those who were guilty of "the gross outrage," at the same time appealing for a justification of his own actions to the orders of his superiors.[20] On October 6 a written protest from Governor Printz, dated September 30, was delivered to Hudde by Måns Lom and Olof Stille.[21] The governor again exhorted the Dutch to desist and abstain from causing any further injuries to Her Majesty's lawful property and he expressed the opinion that their High Mightinesses would be unwilling to come into conflict with Sweden for such a trifle, reminding Hudde that the "ancient rights" and titles of the Dutch to the river could not be very secure, when they thus secretly purchased from the Indians what they pretended belonged to them long before the Swedes made their appearance in the country. Hudde did not answer the protest for some days, but as news reached him that he was censured by Printz for not sending a reply, he drew up a counter protest on October 13[22] which was sent to the Swedish governor the following day. He declared that he was ignorant of having done any wrong to Her Majesty's land and maintained that he had not purchased the land secretly, "unless," he says, "your

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[20] *Doc.*, I. 594. The date given in the *Document* is 1647 and Hazard (p. 95) and others have this date. But I think the correct date is 1646. The letter in which the statement is made was written 1651, hence four or five years after the event took place. Furthermore it is only a copy. Hudde, in his report, makes no mention of these difficulties in 1647, which he most likely would have done if such had taken place.

[21] The name given in the document is Moens Slom and the date is October 16 (n.s.).

[22] The date in the *Doc.* is n.s. or October 23.

the pleasure of Her Royal Majesty and the Right Hon. Company."[42]

Several other courts are also on record, at which individual colonists were tried for misdemeanors. The Swedes were prohibited from trading privately with the Dutch, but it seems that the orders were not strictly lived up to, giving rise to litigations and trouble. "Per Gunnarsson was summoned to court on a charge of selling grain to the Dutch and, [when he] appeared before the court, the governor asked him how much rye he had sold to the Hollanders," pronouncing judgment, it seems, without proper regard to the jury nor the hearing of witnesses in this case.[43] The settlers were likewise forbidden to sell arms and ammunition to the savages. Knut Persson left a gun with Per Kock, requesting him to sell it to the Indians. The gun was later stolen by the savages (or sold to them).[44] News reached the governor and Per Kock was summoned to answer at court, since Persson had died in the meantime. If we are to believe a "complaint" against Printz, presented to Director Rising in 1654, the former disregarded the opinion of the jurors also in this case and told them that he would do, "not what seems [right] to them," but what he wished, [and Per Kock was condemned] "to do work for the company for three months, on his own board." For some crime or misdemeanor, "a lawful sentence" was passed on Anders the Finn, depriving him of a certain amount of rye, and imposing other fines.

In 1653 there was much trouble in New Sweden and in the autumn the situation reached a crisis. Ships did not arrive, some colonists deserted and a "revolt" arose against Governor Printz. Several colonists had real or imaginary grievances against the governor. A written supplication in eleven articles, signed by twenty-two settlers,[45] was presented to him on July 27. It states that the colonists were "at no hour or time secure as to life and property"; it complained that they were all prohibited from trading with either the savages or Christians, although the governor never refrained from grasping an opportunity of traffic with these parties; the governor was accused of brutality and avarice and of passing judgment in his own favor against the opinions of the jury; he was accused of forbidding the colonists from grinding the flour at the mill and of prohibiting them the use of the "fish-waters, the trees in the woods, the grass on the ground and the land to plant on, from which they had their nourishment." The petition then prayed that Anders the Finn might be released from his fine, "in order that his wife and children should not starve to death."

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[42] *Court Rec.*, N.S., I. (R.A.); *Report*, 1647, *Penn. Mag.*, VII., p. 273.

[43] "Förklaring," July 7, 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.).

[44] The report submitted to Rising states that Per Kock did not dare to sell the gun; but Persson said, "when the governor sells so many guns, why should I not dare to sell mine. . . . Then the gun was stolen from Per Kock by the savages," "Förklaring," etc.

On account of these and other troubles, the petitioners said, they were obliged to send two men to Her Royal Majesty and the Hon. Company in the mother country to ascertain if they were entirely neglected . . . and what they should do, since they were not able (allowed?) to seek their subsistence in this country." The petition kindled the wrath of the governor. Anders Jönsson, who appears to have been the leader of the opposition, was arrested, tried and "executed [on a charge of treachery] . . . on August 1, 1653."[46] Rev. Lock was also involved in the disturbance, but for some reason his freedom and office were not interfered with.

Two days after the execution of Anders Jönsson, the governor made a written reply to the charges. The petitioners were addressed as rebels and their petition was answered point for point. Only the fur trade with the savages was forbidden them

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[45] These names are (in the order of their signatures): Mats Hansson, Olof Stille, Axel Stille, Johan Hwiler, Hindrick Matsson, Ifvar Hindricksson, Måns Andersson, Olof Ericksson, Hindrick Matss[on] the Finn, Valerius Loo, Hans Månsson, Peter Jochim, Anders Andersson, Per Rambo, Peter Kock, Sven Gunnarsson, Anders Hansson, Mårten Mårtensson, Klas Johansson, Johan Fysk, Lars Thomasson Bross. Complaint (copy), N.S., I. (R.A.).

FISK or
FISH-

[46] *Monatg. B.*, 1642–56, fol. 51, 81. Anders Jönsson was hired by Johan Papegoja on December 1, 1643, to serve as soldier in New Sweden for a salary of 4 R.D. a month. He remained in the service until he was arrested, but he had received goods and cash amounting to 525:19 R.D., leaving him in debt to the company for 57:19 R.D.

CHAPTER LI.

THE AMERICAN TOBACCO COMPANY, 1658–1662.

The colony was lost, but the tobacco trade, which had proven itself the most profitable, could still become a source of large gain to the stockholders, if placed on a practical basis. The remedy proposed for the existing evils and drawbacks was the re-organization of the company, the extension of its activities and a monopoly of the tobacco trade in the kingdom as well as the exclusive right of importation. The suggestions now met with the approval of the King and in the spring of 1658 the company was re-organized along the above lines.

On May 22, 1658, the King published a "*placard* concerning the importation and trade of tobacco."[1] One of the principal reasons for the granting of the privilege to the company was "that the productive[2] colony in Nova Svecia, [which will be] of great benefit to Us, our kingdom and subjects, as well on account of the navigation as on account of the trade and commerce and the accompanying profit and advantage, might be preserved and maintained." The ordinance contained eight articles, defining the rights of the company and prescribing fines and punishments for those found guilty of trespassing upon its privileges. The company was to appoint agents from among the residents in various parts of the kingdom to sell the tobacco, when application for such privileges were received; but, if no application was made by the cities within three weeks of the publication of the ordinance, the company had a right to appoint and send its own representatives there.[3]

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[1] It was dated at Gothenburg.

[2] "Then importente Colonien i *Nova Svecia.*" *Importente* seems to have had its Latin meaning of producing at this time.

[3] Stiernman, II. 875–80.

The entire tobacco trade of Sweden was now placed in the company's hands and extended to almost every city, village and hamlet in the kingdom and to the principal centers in Finland and the other provinces. It also supplied the tobacco for the army in the field. Strömsköld, Kramer and Junge were to remain as managers and they are mentioned as the "Directors of the American Company." Chrispinus Flygge was appointed inspector general over the trade in Västergötland, Värmland, Nerige, Dal, Halland, Skåne, Blekinge, Bohus län,[4] the city of Gothenburg, Elfsborgs and Skaraborgs län, and Daniel Junge was appointed to the same office at Stockholm, with jurisdiction over a large territory. Searchers to control the trade and guard the rights of the company were also engaged[5] and "inspectors" and agents were appointed to sell the company's tobacco as well as to "inspect the tobacco trade" in their districts. Contracts were signed by them in which they agreed to follow the orders and regulations of the company, and powers of attorney or warrants were given them by the directors.[6] The searchers were given one third of the confiscated tobacco and in some cases a wage of 12 R.D. a month.[7]

Several applications were also filed by private citizens, in accordance with the ordinance, for the privilege of retailing tobacco. These merchants or "contractors" like the agents

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[4] The last four provinces were ceded to Sweden in the treaty at Roskilde, 1658. Hildebrand, *Sv. hist.*, V.

[5] Jon Hansson Fries and Måns Rosell were appointed to visit all vessels coming to Waxholm. "Concept auf dem fullm.," etc., October 2, 1658, *Tobaksk.*, 1643–59 (R.A.). Two other *Besucher* were hired to work at Stockholm, Lars Berg and Nils Matsson, but Berg later went to Enköping, *Journal*, no. 1539.

[6] Anders Andersson was appointed inspector over the trade in "Nerike and Västmanland"; Pål Kröger was appointed inspector in Jacobstad, Finland; Krister Hansson in Västervik; B. Hanneman in Ekenäs and surrounding district; Per Erissmansson in Kalmar län and city as well as Öland and surrounding districts. See Krister Hansson's "Revers," November 18, 1658; B. Hannemann's letter, December 3, 1658; Per Erissman's Revers, December 4, 1658; C. Flygge's letter, November 9, 1658; Strömsköld's letter, June 9, 1658; Anders Andersson's "Revers," July 13, 1658; Kröger's "Revers," October 26, 1658; *Tobaksk.*, 1643–59 (R.A.); C. Schmit's oligation, March 19, 1659, N.S., I. (K.A.).

[7] *Journal*, nos. 1538, 1539 ff.

SOLDIERS, SERVANTS AND FREEMEN.

Clas Classon.
Ambrosius Ericksson.
Per Gunnarsson.
Johan Hindricksson, constaple.
Mårtin Guttersson.[6]
Clas (Klas) Jans[s]on (Jansen).
Anders Jöransson, constaple.
Anders Larsson Dalbo.
Mickel Larsson, from Ösmo.
Johan Matsson, constaple.
Anders Nilsson Nagel.
Påfvel Nilsson.
Mats Olofsson.
Steffan Olofsson.
Anders Olsson Brandt.
Mats Sifversson.[7]
Anders Svensson.[8]
Nils Svensson.[9]
Olof Svensson.
Bengt Thomasson.

For other freemen in the colony at this time see above, Chap. XVIII., pp. 151–53; appendix B, IV.

The following returned to Europe in 1643: Lieutenant Peter Hollender Ridder, The Rev. Christopher, Per Andersson, Bengt Thomasson, Johan Hindrickson, Olof Svensson, Clas Classon (the carpenter), Jöran Olsson (the provost-marshal), Johan Matsson and Johan Papegoja.

III. ROLL-LIST OF THE MALE INHABITANTS OF NEW SWEDEN IN 1643–1644.

(Adapted from the list of Gov. Printz, 1644.)

I. AT FORT CHRISTINA.[10]

OFFICERS:

Lieutenant Johan Papegoja	1
Commissary Hendrick Huygen	1
The Rev. Mr. Johan Campanius	1
Barber-surgeon Hans Janeke	1
Trumpeter Erick Andersson	1
The gunner Mats Hansson	1
The blacksmith Mr. Hans Rosback	1
The provost-marshal Johan Olofsson	1

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[6] Mårtin Göttersson.

[7] Also written Mats Siwersen.

[8] Andreas Swenson.

[9] Nils Swenson.

[10] RULLA.

oppå altt deedt Folck, såsom vthi Nye Swerigie ähro, huru thee på alle platzer och plantatier fördelte ähro, som vnder specificeres pro Anno 1644.

Officererne

widh Cihrstina Skantz:	
Johann Paapegaia	1
Commissen Hindrich Hugenn	1
Pastoren M:r Johann Companius	1
Balbererenn M:r Hannss	1
Trumbetarenn Erich Andersonn	1
Constapel Matz Hansonn	1
Smedenn M:r Hanns	1
Proposenn Jahan Oluffzonn	1
Efſterschreffne aff Compagnitz Folckett plantera Tooback vpå plantatien weedh Cihrstina:	
Knut Mårthensonn	1
Peer Gunnersonn Rambo	1
Mårthenn Göttersson	1
Lars Andersonn Vlff	1
Månns Andersonn	1
Lars Kåckin	1
Svänn Gunnersonn	1
Mårthenn Glaasere	1
Joenn Torsonn	1
Oluff Torsonn	1
Anders Timbermann	1
Efſternembde ähro Timbermän på Hålmenn:	
Class Claasonn	1
Tommas Timbermann	1
Efſterskrefne ähro förordnade att waara continve pä Slupenn:	
Skepperen Andress	1
Lars Tommesonn	1
Bengt Torsonn	1
Vndertecknade arbeeta Tobakz faat och annat kyperj:	
Lauriss Kyper	1
Lukass Personn	1
Swine Wachterenn:	
Anders Minck medh sin sonn	2
Claas Andersonn	
Poickenn som wachtar boskapen:	
Swenn Swensonn	1
Mölnaren som ähr continue hoos quarnen:	
Anders Dreijer	1
Comis: Hindrick Hugens drengh:	
Gååtfreedh Hermansonn	1
Såldater weedh Cihrstina:	
Erich Tååt	1
Mårthen Hansonn	1
Lars Jacobsonn	1
	34

The following people of the company plant tobacco on the plantation at Christina:

Knut Mårtensson Vasa	1
Per (Peter) Gunnarsson Rambo	1
Mårten Göttersson	1
Lars Andersson Ulf	1
Måns Andersson	1
Lars Kåckin (Kock?)	1
Sven Gunnarsson	1
Mårten Mårtensson Glasare (also Glasbiten)	1
Jon Thorsson	1
Olof Thorsson	1
Anders Mats(?) Persson (Person), the carpenter	1

The following are carpenters on the island:

Claas Claason	1
Thomas Göransson (also Jurgensson) the carpenter	1

The following are appointed to be on the sloop continually:

The skipper Andries Lucas[sen] (he returned to Holland in 1646)	1
Lars Thomasson	1
Bengt Thorsson	1

The laborers listed below make tobacco casks and other cooper's articles:

Lauris the Cooper	1
Lukas Persson	1

The swineherd:

Anders Classon Mink with his son	1
Clas (Klas) Andersson	1

The boy who herds the cattle:

Sven Svensson	1

The miller who is continually at the mill:

Anders Kristiansson Dreijer	1

The servant of Com. Hendrick Huygen:

Gotfried Harmer	1

Soldiers at Christina:

Erick Åkesson Tått	1
Mårtin (Marten) Hansson	1
Lars Jacobsson	1
Total at Fort Christina	34

II. AT FORT ELFSBORG.[11]

OFFICERS:

Lieutenant Sven Skute	1
Head guard (*wachtmäster*) Gregorius van Dyck	1
Gunner Johan Matsson	1
Drummer Sven Andersson	1
Rev. Israel Holg Fluviander	1

COMMON SOLDIERS:

Nicklas Bock	1
Johan Gustafsson	1
Peter Meyer	1
Isack van Eissen (or von Eysen)	1
Constantinus Grönberg (Grünenburg)	1
Peter Jochim (Jochem, Joachim)	1
Anders Jönsson	1
Bengt Hindricksson (also Hindersson)	1
Anders Andersson	1
Jacob Svensson (Swenson)	1
Walle Looer (also Lohe and Loo)	1
Jon (Joen) Nilsson the tailor	1
Knut Liljehök	1
Total at Fort Elfsborg	18

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[11] *Officererne*
widh Skantzenn Elssborgh:

Leutenampten Swänn Skuuta	1
Wachmesteren Gregorius van Dicke	1
Constap: Jahaan Matzonn	1
Trumbeslageren Swänn Andersonn	1

Giemene Såldater:

Nicklaus Bock	1
Jahann Gustaffzonn	1
Petter Meijer	1
Isack vann Eissenn	1
Constantinos Gröneberg h	1
Petter Jochim	1
Anders Joensonn	1
Bengt Hindrichsonn	1
Anders Andersonn	1
Jacob Swensonn	1
Walle Looer	1
Joenn Skreddere	1
Knut Liliehöck	1
	17

Total number of male inhabitants of New Sweden in 1644 105

IV. ROLL LIST OF THE PEOPLE WHO WERE ALIVE IN NEW SWEDEN ON THE FIRST OF MARCH, 1648.[19]

OFFICERS:

1648

Governor Johan Printz.

Lieutenant Gustaf Printz. (Not given in Kramer's list of March, 1648. He returned to Sweden in 1652.)

Lieutenant Johan Papegoja.

Lieutenant Schwenn Schuute (Sven Skute), came here with Gov. Printz in 1643.

The preacher Lars Carlsson Lööck (Lock), who went to New Sweden with the ship *Swan* from Gothenburg on the twenty-fifth of September, 1647.

The barber-surgeon, Hans Janeke, "from Königsbergh, who went to New Sweden on the ship *Fama* in 1643 and settled there on the thirty-first of March, 1644, in the service of the Crown."

The head guard (watch-master) Gregorius van Dyck, who returned to "New Sweden with Governor Printz in 1642."

SOLDIERS, FREEMEN AND SERVANTS:

Clas (Klas) Jansson, freeman, "who went over to New Sweden with Commander Pieter Minuit in 1637."

Anthony, a Morian or Angoler,[20] who was a purchased slave, brought here on the *Grip* in 1639.

The following arrived here on the Kalmar Nyckel in 1640:

Peer (Per) Gummersson (*Per Gunnarsson*) Rambo, freeman. (Probably from *Rambo, Degersfors socken, Västerbotten,* Northeastern Sweden.)

Peer (Per) Andersson, skipper on the *Speel*-yacht.

Anders Svensson Bonde, served as constaple (gunner) at New Gothenborg from May 1, 1643, until September 1, 1653, and returned to Sweden with Printz in 1653. He returned to the colony.

Måns Andersson, freeman.

Joen Toorsson (Jon Thorsson), freeman.

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[19] Based on a list in Kramer's handwriting (probably a copy from a list sent to Sweden by Printz in 1648), N. S., I. (R.A.).

[20] "Morian [negro] or Angoler" indicates that he came from Angola, the Portuguese Colony in West Africa near the river Kunene.

Anders Larsson Daalbo (Dalbo) provost-marshal. (Probably from Dalbo on the island of Gothland, or he may have come from Dalarna.) He was a tobacco planter in 1644. On November 1, 1647, "he was hired by Printz to serve among the soldiers as provost-marshal" at the rate of 6 R.D. a month. He served until November 15, 1648, when he left. He entered the service again about December 15, 1650.

Swenn (Sven) Larsson Maarbo, laborer.

Swenn (Sven) Gunnarsson, freeman. (Probably a brother of Per.)

Larss Swensson (Lars Svensson), freeman.

Mårten (also Mårtin) Guttersson (or Göttersson), laborer. Returned to Sweden on the *Örn* in 1654. Died in Sweden in the autumn of 1654.

The following arrived here in 1641:[21]

Claess Claesson, a Dutch carpenter. He returned to Sweden in 1653.

Laurens Andriesson, the barman, a Hollander, who came here on the ship *Kalmar Nyckel.* He returned to Sweden with Claesson in 1653.

Matz (Mats) Hansson, appointed gunner in 1641, in which capacity he served until December 1, 1646, when he was made a freeman, came over on the *Kalmar Nyckel.*

Gottfriedt Hermer (Gotfried Harmer, also *Hermansson*), who went over on the ship *Charitas* in 1641 as a cabin guard, later became an assistant to Commiss. Huygen.

Iffwer (Ifvar) Hindricksson (Cf. above, p. 151), laborer, was hired by Måns Kling in 1641 and came over as a farm hand.

Johan Ericksson from Ångermanland (Northeastern Sweden, bordering on the Gulf of Bothnia), was hired by Måns Kling in 1641 as a laborer. Became soldier on October 1, 1646. Deserted in 1651, leaving a debt of 1,017 florins behind.

Anders Hansson, freeman, was hired by Måns Kling as a farm hand in 1641 and was later made a freeman.

Jacob Sprint from Nyland (northern Sweden) was hired by Kling in 1641 as a farm hand, was later appointed a soldier.

Powell Joensson (Påfvel Jönsson or Jonsson), from Jämtland, was hired by Kling in 1641 as a farm hand. On October 1, 1646, Governor Printz hired him as a soldier for 4 R.D. a month. He returned to Sweden with Printz.

Axel Stille,[21a] was hired by Kling in 1641 as a farm hand and was later made a freeman.

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[21] Cf. above, p. 151 ff.

[21a] Probably from Länna *socken*, Roslagen, Stockholms län.

Hindrick Matzon (Matsson), was hired by Kling in 1641 as a farm hand and was later made a soldier.

Johan(n) Andersson, from Strängnäs, was hired by Kling in 1641 for a farm hand. On October 1, 1646, he was hired by Printz to serve as soldier. He seems to have left with Printz.

Olof(f) Ericks[s]on, was hired by Kling in 1641 for a farm hand.

Mat(t)s Hansson from Borgå (Finland), the servant of the late Mr. Klas Fleming, was sent here in 1641 to serve the company and was later made a freeman.

Peer (Per, Peter) Larsson Kock (Cock), freeman, was sent here in 1641 to serve the company and was later made a freeman.

Eskell (Eskil) Larsson, laborer, was sent here in 1641 by the College of War, to serve as a punishment, because he deserted from the army; later he was made a free laborer.

Hanss Månsson, from Skara, was sent here from Gothenburg as a laborer in 1641 and was later made a freeman.

Lars Andersson from Gothenburg, the cook on the sloop here.

Roff Toorsson (Olof Thorsson), laborer, who came here as a midshipman on the *Kalmar Nyckel* in 1641.

Lars Biörsson (Björnsson), laborer, who came here as a midshipman from Gothenburg in 1641.

Lucas Persson, sailor on the sloop here who went over as a sailor in 1641 on the ship *Charitas*.

Knut Martensson Wasa (Knut Mårtinsson Vasa), probably from Vasa in Finland, freeman, went over as a sailor on the ship *Charitas* in 1641, later made a freeman.

Lars Thomsson (also Thomasson), from Weddinge, sailor on the sloop here, came over on the ship *Charitas* as a sailor in 1641.

Matz Olufsson (Mats Olofsson), wood sawyer here, came over as a sailor on the *Kalmar Nyckel* in 1641.

Måns Swensson Loom (Svensson Lom), freeman, had been a lieutenant before and came over on the *Charitas* in 1641.

Olof(f) Stille,[21b] freeman, a mill-wright, with his family consisting of a wife and two children.

Siwirt or If(f)wert Siewertsson (Ifvar Sifversson), came over on the *Charitas* as a freeman in 1641.

Anders Christiaensson (Kristiansson), the miller, came to New Sweden from Gothenburg.

[21b] "From Roslagen, Länna *socken* and Penningsby *gård*."

Måns Jurrensson the Finn, freeman, was sent here on the ship *Kalmar Nyckel* in 1641 as a laborer, later he became a freeman.

Clement Jurgensson (Göransson) the freeman, was sent here as a servant of the company and was later made a freeman.

Hinrich Matzon (Matsson), the Finn, was hired as a soldier by Printz on October 1, 1646, served until March 1, 1648, when he was made a freeman.

Eskiell (Eskil) Larsson, or Lars Eskiellson, was sent here in 1641 and was later made a freeman.

Bartell Eskielsson (Eskilsson), came here with his father Elskiel Larsson and was later made a freeman.

The following arrived here in 1643:

Knuut Peersson (Knut Persson), secretary. Died before the autumn of 1653.

Swen(n) Andersson, drummer, served here until 1655.

Nicholaes Borck (Nicklas or Nickolaus Bock), corporal.

Hans Lüneburger (Lynberger), soldier from Stralsund (at that time belonging to Sweden). Came on the *Fama*. He died in New Sweden about the middle of June, 1650.

Lars Andersson, soldier, "från Såltuna socken."[21c] He served here until September 1, 1653, and returned to Sweden with Governor Printz.

Joen Nielsson (Jon Nilsson), "soldier from *Skånings härad*," Skaraborgs län.

Lars Jacobsson, soldier.

Elias Gÿllengren (Gyllengren), constaple at Ft. Korsholm. Served as soldier until March 1, 1648. Served as constaple from March 1, 1648, until July 31, 1651, when he returned to Sweden. He came here again in 1654.

Anders Andersson Homman, "from Såltuna socken." Came here on the *Swan* in 1643, served as soldier until March 1, 1648, from which time until 1653 he served as trumpeter. Zettersten, Sv. fl. hist., II. 609.

Jurgen Schneeweiss (Göran Kyn Snöhvit), soldier.

Peter Meÿer (Meyer), soldier from Gothenburg.

Constantinus Grünenborgh (also Konstantin Grönberg), "soldier from Mark Brandenborg."

Johann Olufsson (Johan Olofsson), was hired to serve as provost-marshal in 1642. Came here on the *Fama*. Returned with Printz in 1653.

[21c] Sollentuna socken, Stockholms län.

Hindrick Matzon (Matsson), was hired by Kling in 1641 as a farm hand and was later made a soldier.

Johan(n) Andersson, from Strängnäs, was hired by Kling in 1641 for a farm hand. On October 1, 1646, he was hired by Printz to serve as soldier. He seems to have left with Printz.

Olof(f) Ericks[s]on, was hired by Kling in 1641 for a farm hand.

Mat(t)s Hansson from Borgå (Finland), the servant of the late Mr. Klas Fleming, was sent here in 1641 to serve the company and was later made a freeman.

Peer (Per, Peter) Larsson Kock (Cock), freeman, was sent here in 1641 to serve the company and was later made a freeman.

Eskell (Eskil) Larsson, laborer, was sent here in 1641 by the College of War, to serve as a punishment, because he deserted from the army; later he was made a free laborer.

Hanss Månsson, from Skara, was sent here from Gothenburg as a laborer in 1641 and was later made a freeman.

Lars Andersson from Gothenburg, the cook on the sloop here.

Roff Toorsson (Olof Thorsson), laborer, who came here as a midshipman on the *Kalmar Nyckel* in 1641.

Lars Biörsson (Björnsson), laborer, who came here as a midshipman from Gothenburg in 1641.

Lucas Persson, sailor on the sloop here who went over as a sailor in 1641 on the ship *Charitas.*

Knut Martensson Wasa (Knut Mårtinsson Vasa), probably from Vasa in Finland, freeman, went over as a sailor on the ship *Charitas* in 1641, later made a freeman.

Lars Thomsson (also Thomasson), from Weddinge, sailor on the sloop here, came over on the ship *Charitas* as a sailor in 1641.

Matz Olufsson (Mats Olofsson), wood sawyer here, came over as a sailor on the *Kalmar Nyckel* in 1641.

Måns Swensson Loom (Svensson Lom), freeman, had been a lieutenant before and came over on the *Charitas* in 1641.

Olof(f) Stille,[21b] freeman, a mill-wright, with his family consisting of a wife and two children.

Siwirt or If(f)wert Siewertsson (Ifvar Sifversson), came over on the *Charitas* as a freeman in 1641.

Anders Christiaensson (Kristiansson), the miller, came to New Sweden from Gothenburg.

[21b] "From Roslagen, Länna *socken* and Penningsby *gård.*"

Måns Jurrensson the Finn, freeman, was sent here on the ship *Kalmar Nyckel* in 1641 as a laborer, later he became a freeman.

Clement Jurgensson (Göransson) the freeman, was sent here as a servant of the company and was later made a freeman.

Hinrich Matzon (Matsson), the Finn, was hired as a soldier by Printz on October 1, 1646, served until March 1, 1648, when he was made a freeman.

Eskiell (Eskil) Larsson, or Lars Eskiellson, was sent here in 1641 and was later made a freeman.

Bartell Eskielsson (Eskilsson), came here with his father Elskiel Larsson and was later made a freeman.

The following arrived here in 1643:

Knuut Peersson (Knut Persson), secretary. Died before the autumn of 1653.

Swen(n) Andersson, drummer, served here until 1655.

Nicholaes Borck (Nicklas or Nickolaus Bock), corporal.

Hans Lüneburger (Lynberger), soldier from Stralsund (at that time belonging to Sweden). Came on the *Fama.* He died in New Sweden about the middle of June, 1650.

Lars Andersson, soldier, "från Såltuna socken."[21c] He served here until September 1, 1653, and returned to Sweden with Governor Printz.

Joen Nielsson (Jon Nilsson), "soldier from *Skånings härad,*" Skaraborgs län.

Lars Jacobsson, soldier.

Elias Gÿllengren (Gyllengren), constaple at Ft. Korsholm. Served as soldier until March 1, 1648. Served as constaple from March 1, 1648, until July 31, 1651, when he returned to Sweden. He came here again in 1654.

Anders Andersson Homman, "from Såltuna socken." Came here on the *Swan* in 1643, served as soldier until March 1, 1648, from which time until 1653 he served as trumpeter. Zettersten, Sv. fl. hist., II. 609.

KEEN ?

Jurgen Schneeweiss (Göran Kyn Snöhvit), soldier.

Peter Meÿer (Meyer), soldier from Gothenburg.

Constantinus Grünenborgh (also Konstantin Grönberg), "soldier from Mark Brandenborg."

Johann Olufsson (Johan Olofsson), was hired to serve as provost-marshal in 1642. Came here on the *Fama.* Returned with Printz in 1653.

[21c] Sollentuna socken, Stockholms län.

Peter Jochimson (Peter Jochum or Jochim), soldier from Slesvik-Holstein.

Isack von Eÿssen (van Eisen or Eissen), from Stockholm. Served as soldier until August, 1643, when he was made a corporal at a wage of 6 R.D. a month.

Jacob Swensson, "from Sårestad in Askerad,"[21d] constaple at Christina.

Michell Nielsson (Mickel Nilsson), blacksmith.

Thomas Jurgensson (Göransson), carpenter, returned to Sweden with Printz in 1653.

Marten Martensson (Mårtin Mårtinson) Glassbijten, freeman.

Johan Gustaffsson (also Johan Göstasson), from Kinekulle, Sweden. Came here on the *Swan* in 1643. Served as soldier until 1653, when he probably became a freeman.

Niels (Nils) Andersson, "from Mällpa(?) in Kinna[21e] hundred." He served here as a soldier until the middle of March, 1649, when he died, owing the company 35:42 R.D.

Anders Andersson, the Finn, was sent here from the Castle of Elfsborg as a punishment. Returned to Sweden in 1653.

The following arrived here in 1644 on the Fama:

Jan Matzon (Johan Matsson), constaple (gunner) at Fort Elfsborg. Engaged as constaple on April 1, 1644, at 6 R.D. a month. On December 1, 1646, his wage was raised to 8 R.D. a month. He served as constaple until September 1, 1650, when he was engaged as skipper on the sloop at 25 florins a month. From August 15, 1651, until September 1, 1653, he served again as constaple. He returned to Sweden with Governor Printz.

Anders Joensson[22] (Jönsson), soldier, was engaged on the first of December, 1643, by the nobleman Johan Papegoja. Served as soldier until August, 1653. He was executed on August 1. 1653.

Wolle Lohe (Walle Looer), soldier, was engaged by the nobleman Papegoja on December 1, 1643. Seems to have left the service in 1653 and returned to Sweden.

Swen Swensson (Sven Svensson), a youth, went to New Sweden with Papegoja in 1643.

[21d] Askeryd socken, north Vedbo härad, Jönköpings län.

[21e] Kinda(?) hundred in Östergötlands län.

[22] He is probably the same as Anders Jonsson, from Nyköping, who was here in 1642. In that case he returned to Sweden in 1643 and came here a second time in 1644.

Skipper Dirck (Diedrick) Jacobsson, skipper on the sloop in the river, was taken into the company's service in New Sweden on August 10, 1646. He died here about 1650 (before 1652).

Hindrick Olufsson (Olofsson), the Finn, was taken into the government's service in New Sweden as a soldier on September 1, 1646. (The list has December 1, 1646.) He owed the company 28:32 R.D. in September, 1653.

The following are not found in Kramer's list:

Åcke Israelsson (also Israel Åckesson) came here in 1641 according to *Journal,* N. S., III. (K.A.), and returned to Sweden in 1654 on the *Örn*(?). Cf. *Monatg.* B., 1642–56, but he is not mentioned in Printz's list of 1644 nor in the list of 1648 unless he is given under a different name. In the list of 1644 is an Erich Tååt (Erick *Åkesson* Tått), however.

Peter Bock (not given in list of 1648 nor in list of 1644), probably a son of Nicklas Bock, who came here in 1643. Signed the Indian certificates of July 13, and July 16, 1651.

Anders Mats(?) Persson (Person), the carpenter, was here in 1644 and is mentioned as being in New Sweden in 1649, but he is not given in the list of 1648.

Total number of male inhabitants in 1648: 83.

Names of the fortified places in New Sweden in 1648:

1. Fort Christina.
2. Fort Elfsborg.
3. Fort New Gothenborg.
4. Fort New Korsholm on the Schuylkill.
5. Mölndal.
6. Tårne (Torne). (Probably erected about 1647 after Vasa had been abandoned. Called after Tårne (Torne), at the northern point of Bay of Bothnia.)

The following returned to Sweden in 1648:

Erick (Eric) Andersson, the trumpeter, came here in 1643, served the Crown until July 1, 1645, when he became a freeman. On February 1, 1647, he again entered the service of the Crown and remained in the service until April 1, 1648. He came here again in 1654.

Måns Nilsson Kling, Rev. Johan Campanius, the blacksmith Hans Rosback, Anders Classon Mink, Knut Liljehök, Måns Nilsson, Eric Åkesson Tått (who served as a soldier from 1643 until April 1, 1648),

Johan Andersson (soldier), Friedrich Hans Koch (barber-surgeon), and Bengt Hindricksson (Hindersson).[23]

V. LIST OF OFFICERS, SOLDIERS, SERVANTS AND FREEMEN IN THE COLONY, 1654–1655.[24]

OFFICERS.

Rising, Johan, director.
Papegoja, Johan, lieutenant.[25]
Elswick, Hendrick von, commissary (1654).
Svensson, Jacob, assistant commissary.
Skute, Sven, captain.
Höök, Sven, lieutenant (1654).
Gyllengren, Elias, lieutenant.
Lindeström, Peter, engineer (1654).
Stake, Måns,[26] provost-marshal (1654).
Kämpe, Anders, *rustmästaren* (armorer) (1654).
Julius, Carl (Karl), schreiber (secretary)[27] (1654).
Junge, Jacob, *packhausechreiber* (1654), from Gothenburg.
Hjort, Peder (Peter) Larsson, Rev. (1654).
Lock, Lars Karlsson, Rev.
1654
Nertunius, Matthias, Rev. (1654).
Olofsson, Anders (also Anders Olsson), corporal (1654).
Peters[s]on, Peter, trumpeter (1654).
Peters[s]on, Peter, drummer[27a] (1654).
Schalbrick(?)[28] Johan, drummer (1654), from Reval.
Lars[s]on, Anders, sergeant (1654).
Lars[s]on, Nils, Gewaldiger[28a] (1654).
Stidden, Timon,[29] barber-surgeon.
Anderson, Lars, munsterschreiber (muster-clerk) (1654?).
Andersson, Sven, trumschläger (drummer).
Dyck, Gregorius van, wachtmäster (head guard).

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[23] He was a brother of Christiernus Alsinius, *Rector Scholae* of Stockholm.

[24] The names have been gathered from N. S., I.–II. (R.A.); N. S., I.–III. (K.A.); Rising's Journal; *Doc.*, XII., and private letters. *1654* after the names indicates that the persons came here in 1654 on the *Orn.* It is the intention of the writer to publish a more complete list in a following volume, which will comprise names of Swedish, Dutch, Danish and Norwegian settlers from 1656 to 1700, also indicating the localities where the colonists lived. For some names not given here Cf. Chap. XXXVIII. note 45 and p. 726 below.

EAGLE

[25] Returned to Sweden on the *Örn.*

[26] Probably the same as Måns Person Stake.

[27] Came on the *Haj,* 1654. Arrived in New Sweden November 30, 1654.

[27a] He is probably same as Peter Peters[s]on, trumpeter.

[28] *Mss.* have Schialbrich, Schialbrick and Schallbrucher.

[28a] One *Ms.* has Gevaliar. *Gavaldiger* was the old Swedish name for a constable, also a prisonkeeper.

[29] "From Hammel," *Hammal*(?), north of Sundsvall, Sweden. His mother lived at Stockholm in 1641.

SOLDIERS, SERVANTS AND FREEMEN.

Åkerman, Håkan Persson (or simply Håkan Persson), soldier (1654).
Anders i Salungen(?), freeman (1654).
Anders, the Finn, freeman (1654).
Andersson, Anders, freeman.
Anders[son], Benjamin, freeman(?) (1654).
Anders[s]on, Eric, soldier (1654).
(Erick) Anders[s]on's widow.[30]
Anders[s]on, Hindrick, freeman[31] (1654).
Anders[s]on Stå(h)lkof(f)ta,[32] Johan, gunner.
Anders[s]on, Jöns, Smidt (blacksmith) (1654).
Anders[s]on, Lars, the Finn, soldier.[33]
Anders[s]on, Måns (also Moens Andriesen).
Nils Anders[s]on's[34] widow (1654).
Anders[s]on, Nils, müller (the miller).
Anders[s]on Husgalen (House-crazy), Olof (1654).
Andriasson, Måns, freeman (1654).
Backare(?) (the baker), Isack (1654).
Olof Bagge's widow,[35] freeman (1654).
Bankson (Bengtsson), Andrew (Andreas), b. 1640.
Benckson (Bengtsson), Erick, soldier (1654).
Bengts[s]on, Israel, soldier (1654).
Bengts[s]on, Mathias, freeman(?)[36] (1654).
Bengts[s]on, Mats[37] (1654).
Bertils[s]on Likagod (just as good), Olof, soldier (1654).
Bickert (Bicker), Gerrit.
Boijs (Boyer), Alexander, Dutch freeman.
Brun (Brown), Thomas, an English freeman.
Braueversche, Hustro Agneta[38] (1654).
Burke(?), Cornelius (1654?).
Bus(?), Lars (1654?).
Carson (Karsson), Nils, Junge oder pöjke[39] (1654).
Clasen, Abbe, skipper (1654).

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[30] Andersson died on the journey or in New Sweden before June 9, 1654.

[31] Ill June 9, 1654.

[32] Later changed to Stalcop (Cf. Acrelius (trans.), p. 192, 265.). *Stålkofta* means steel-coat or jacket.

[33] There are two or three with same name.

[34] Nils Andersson, freeman, died on the *Örn* or before June 9, 1654.

[35] Bagge died on the journey or in the colony before June 9, 1654.

[36] He lived at Kingsessing.

[37] Probably the same as Mathias Bengt[s]son.

[38] It is difficult to see what the name is. Hustro Agneta, Frau (fru) Agneta? But *Braueversche* may mean that she brewed ale in the colony.

[39] Boy.

Clementsson (Clemetson), Anders, soldier (1654).

Collinns(?), Lars Andersson (1654).

Dalbo, Anders Larsson, freeman.

Daniels[s]on, Gösta (Jösta), soldier[40] (1654).

Daniels[s]on, Gustaf (1654).

Danielsson, Johan, Arklimästare (gunner) (1654).

Eckhoff, Jan, freeman (1654?).

Ericksson, Abraham (1654).

Lars Ericks[s]on's widow[41] (1654).

Ericksson, Olof, freeman.

Esbjörsson Skräddare (tailor),[42] Lars (1654).

Esbjörnsson, Lars, soldier[43] (1654).

Eskelsdotter, Margareta[44] (1654).

Eskils[s]on(?), Bertil (Bärtill), the Finn.[45]

Eskelsson, Abraham, soldier (1654).

Eskelsson, Mats (1654).

Esselse(?), Mathias, freeman (1654).

Evers, Peter (1654).

Forsman, Gabriel Samuels[s]on, soldier (1654).

Fransson,[46] Olof, freeman.

Friland, Samuel Pers[s]on, freeman (1654).

From,[47] Hindrick Lars[s]on, soldier (1654).

Grimm, Otto (1654).

Grönberg (Grönenbergh, Gryneberg, Grüneburg), Constantinus, freeman.

Gunnarsson, Sven, freeman.[48]

Gustafs[s]on (Göstasen), Anies (?), freeman(?)[49] (1654).

Göstas[s]on, Johan (Jon), gunner[50] (1654?).

Gustafs[s]on, Johan(?).

The widow of Rolof de Haes (1654).

Håkans[s]on, Nils, freeman(?) (1654).

Hans[s]on, Klas, freeman (1654).

Hans[s]on, Mats.[51]

Hans[s]on Friskebonde, Olof[52] (1654).

Hermers(?), Peter (1654).

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[40] Hired at Stockholm in 1653 for 4 R.A. a month. Jösta or Gösta.

[41] Ericksson, freeman, died in the colony before June 9, 1654. His widow took oath of allegiance to the Swedish Crown.

[42] Hired in Stockholm in 1653 for 4 R.D. a month.

[43] Probably same as the foregoing.

[44] Margareta Elskelsdotter, Margarete the daughter of Elskel (Elskil).

[45] He lived at the Schuylkill.

[46] *Doc.*, XII. 107, has Olof Franien. He was ill on June 9, 1654.

[47] *From* = good, pious.

[48] Lived at Kingsessing.

[49] *Doc.*, XII. 107, has Göstaffsen Anies instead of Anies(?) Göstaffsen (Gustafsson).

[50] Mss. has Giöstason, may be the same as Johan Gustafs[s]on.

[51] Probably same as Mats Hans[s]on, who was hired in 1641 at Gothenburg to serve as gunner at Christina. Cf. above.

[52] *Fiskebonde*, "fish-peasant."

Hijden (Hiden?), Anders (1654).

Hindricks[s]on, Anders, freeman (1654).

Hindricks[s]on, Hindrick, soldier (1654).

Hindricks[s]on, Ifvert (Juert, Ivert, etc.), freeman.[53]

Hindricks[s]on, Johan, freeman[54] (1654).

Isgrå (Icegrey), Olof, soldier (1654).

Jacobs[s]on, Hindrick, soldier (1654).

Jacobs[s]on, Johan,[55] freeman(?) (1654).

Jacobs[s]on, Johan, sagemülsmeister (mill-wright) (1654).

Jacobs[s]on, Johan, freeman (1654).

Jacobs[s]on, Päder (Peter), freeman (1654).

Jans[s]on, Anders,[56] freeman(?) (1654?).

Jans[s]on, Bernt (Baernt Jansen)[57] (1654).

Jans[s]on, Hans, the Finn (1654).

Jockum (Jochim), Peter, freeman.

Johans[s]on, Girret (1654).

Johans[s]on, Herman (Harman Janz[on]), freeman (1654).

Johans[s]on, Henrick, freeman[58] (1654).

Johans[s]on, Hindrick[59] (1654).

Johansdotter,[60] Karin (1654).

Johans[s]on, Philip (1654).

Johansson, Simon, soldier (1654).

Tomas (Thomas) Johans[s]on's[61] widow (1654).

Jons[s]on, Anders, soldier (1654).

Jons[s]on, Bengt, freeman (1654).

Jöns[s]on, Jöran (Göran, George), freeman (1654).

Jons[s]on, Hans, soldier[62] (1654).

Jons[s]on, Olof (1654).

Jons[s]on, Paul, freeman[63] (1654).

Jörans[s]on, Nils, soldier (1654).

Justen(?), Jan,[64] freeman(?) (1654).

Klemels[s]on,[65] Anders (1654).

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[53] He lived at the Schuylkill.

[54] He was ill in June, 1654.

[55] May be same as Johan Jacobs[s]on *Sagenmülsmeister.*

[56] *Doc.* XII. 107 has Andries Jansen.

[57] May be the same as Bengt Jons[s]on.

[58] This can hardly be the same H. Johans[s]on who escaped from Ft. Trefaldighet, for he joined Elswick on his own accord on August 31. Elswick's *Relation*, see also N. S., II. (R.A.). He lived at the Schuylkill.

[59] Escaped from Ft. Trefaldighet in 1655.

[60] The daughter of Johan (Jon).

[61] Thomas Johans[s]on, freeman, died during journey on *Örn* or in colony before June 9, 1654.

[62] May be same as Hans Jans[s]on Finne.

[63] Lived at the Schuylkill.

[64] *Doc.* XII. 107. Possibly the same as Johan Gustafsson(?).

[65] Probably Klementsson.

Kock (Cock), Peter Lars[s]on, freeman.

Lasse Kock (Cock, Cocke), b. 1646.

Koskel(?), Johan.

Krum, Marten (Mårtin), soldier (1654).

Kyn, Gjörgen (Görgen or Göran, Jöran).

Kÿpere,[66] Lukas (1654).

Larsdotter (the daughter of Lars),[67] Karin (1654).

Larsdotter,[68] Karin (1654)

Lars[s]on, Anders, freeman[69] (1654).

Bärtil Lars[s]on's widow[70] (1654).

Larsson, Hindrick, the Finn, soldier (1654).

Lars[s]on, Jöns (1654).

Lars[s]on, Lars, Freüwerböther(?) (1654).

Lars[s]on, Markus (1654).

Mats Lars[s]on's widow[71] (1654).

Lars[s]on, Påfvel (Påwel) (1654).

Lars[s]on, Peder (or Per), soldier (1654).

Lane, Simon, an Englishman.

Lom, Måns, the widow of.

Lorans (Lorensen or Lorensson), Frans[72] (1654).

Lukas Krüger, Sigesmundus,[73] (1654).

Måns[s]on, Hans.[74]

Månsson Klockare (parish-clerk),[75] Lars (1654).

Måns[s]on, Peder (Peter), freeman (1654).

Matzdochter, Carin (Karin Matsdotter) (1654).

Mats[s]on Kjäring (Woman), Anders (1654).

Mats[s]on, Hindrick, the Finn, freeman (1654).

Mats[s]on, Hindrick, freeman.

Mats[s]on Skrika, Johan, soldier (1654).

Mats[s]on, Martin (Mårtin), freeman (1654).

Matsson, Mats (Matz Matzon), the blacksmith (1654).

Mats[s]on, Mathias (Mats)[76] (1654).

Mats[s]on, Morten (Mårtin, Marten) (1654).

Mats[s]on, Nils, sågkvarnsmästare,[77] from Torshälla (1654).

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[66] Kypare = barman.

[67] The small maid-servant of the company.

[68] The large maid-servant of the company.

[69] Ill June 9, 1654.

[70] Bartil Lars[s]on, freeman, died on voyage or before June 9, 1654. Oath.

[71] M. Larsson, freeman, died on voyage or in colony before June 9, 1654.

[72] Probably a Dutchman.

[73] "Cordewanbereiter," Preparer of Cordowan leather.

[74] Lived at Kingsessing.

[75] Klockare, a sacristan, a parish-clerk, one who leads or aids in singing.

[76] Lived at the Schuylkill, probably on Province Island.

[77] Millwright from Torshälla, Södermanland, Sweden.

Mickelsson, Clement(?), freeman (1654).

Mickels[s]on Fischer, David (1654).

Mickels[s]on, Erick, soldier (1654).

Mickels[s]on, Jacob (1654).

Mickels[s]on, Lambert, freeman (1654).

Mjölnare (the miller), Nils (1654).

Morris, William, freeman(?), probably an Englishman.

Mört, Peter, Proviant-screiber (1654).

Mårtinsson (Martensson) Glasare (glasbiten, the *piece of glass*), Mårtin (Morten), freeman.

Mortens[s]on Vasa, Knut, freeman.

Mortens[s]on, Morten (Mårtin Mårtinsson), freeman (1654).

Nils Snickare (carpenter (1654).

Nils[s]on Jute (Dane?), Börge(?) (1654).

N . . . , David, soldier.[78]

Nils[s]on Skräddare (tailor), John (Jon, Joen, Johan), freeman.

Nils[s]on, Peder (Per), soldier (1654).

Nils[s]on, Törgel (Torkil?) (1654).

Olof in Slobijen (1654).

Olofs[s]on, Björn, freeman (1654).

Olofs[s]on, Johan (1654).

Olofs[s]on (Oloffson), Lars, soldier (1654).

Olofs[s]on, Mats, soldier.[79]

Olofs[s]on, Mathias (1654).

Olofs[s]on Räf, Nils (Nilsz Rääff) (1654).

Påfvels[s]on (Påwelson), Måns (1654).

Påfvels[s]on Peder (Peter, Per), soldier (1654).

Pers[s]on, Jon (1654).

Pers[s]on, Johan, soldier[80] (1654).

Pers[s]on i Bogen (at the Bog), Samuel (1654).

Peters[s]on (Persson), Lucas, freeman(?).

Peters[s]on,[81] Samuel, freeman (1654).

Preutz (Pryss also Prentz), Hans, Stenhuggare (stone cutter), soldier[82] (1654).

Quist, Påfvel Nils[s]on, soldier[83] (1654).

Rambo, Peter[84] (Per) Gunnarson.

Rase(?), Olof, soldier (1654).

---

[78] Came here on the *Haj* in 1654.

[79] Probably same as Mathias Olofs[s]on. Lived at the Schuylkill.

[80] Probably same as Jon Pers[s]on.

[81] Pieterson.

[82] Hired at Stockholm in 1654.

[83] Hired at Stockholm in 1653.

[84] Lived at Kingsessing.

Rosenmann(?), Marten (Mårtin) (1654).

Rudenius, Lars Jons[s]on, soldier[85] (1654).

Samuel i (at) Frijandan (1654).

Schaggen, Johan (1654).

Schal (Skall), Peter, the tanner (1654).

Skate i (at the) Slobyen(?), freeman (1654).

Schoffel, Jan (Johan Skofvel), freeman (1654).

Skog, Jonas, soldier (1654).

Skog, Jan Måns[s]on (1654).

Scott, Richard (an Englishman?).

Skute, Johan (John), son of Capt. Skute, b. Sept. 4, 1654.

Smed (the blacksmith), Nicholas (1654).

Sprint (Sprinck), Jacob.

Stake, Måns Persson (1654).

Stille, Axel, freeman.

Stille, Olof, freeman.

Swartz (Black), Antoni (Anthony the negro), the slave.[86]

Swartz (Black), Lars[87] (1654).

Swens[s]on, Anders, sailor (1654).

Thomasson, Klas (Claes Tommassen), freeman (1654).

Thomasdochter (Thomasdotter, daughter of Thomas), Elin, the company's maid-servant (1654).

Thomas[s]on (Thomson), Lars, freeman.

Thomas[s]on Thomas, freeman.

Thorsson, Anton (Anthony Thorson) (1654).

Thorsson, Olof.

Thors[s]on Svärdfejare,[88] Sander (Alexander) (1654).

Utter, Nils Mats[s]on, soldier[89] (1654).

Hans[s]on Wendel, Peder (Peter), ensign (1654).

Zakariasson (Zachariezon and Zacharieszon), Anders, soldier (1654).

---

[85] Hired at Stockholm in 1653.

[86] He made several purchases from the company in 1654. He may have been a freeman at this time.

[87] He may have been a negro or called Black (Svart) on account of his complexion.

[88] Hired in 1653. Sword-cutler, bladesmith, furbisher.

[89] Hired at Stockholm in 1653.

SOLDIERS AND COLONISTS HIRED TO GO TO NEW SWEDEN, WHOSE PRESENCE THERE HAS NOT BEEN DETERMINED.[90]

For other sailors on the *Haj*, besides those given below, see above Chap. XXXIX., note 44.

Andersson Snickare (cabinetmaker), Nils,[91] soldier.

Eric[k]s[s]on, Bengt, upper boatswain.[92]

Ericks[s]on, Eric, from Örebro.[93]

Erics[s]on, Johan, boatswain.[94]

Håkans[s]on Brodd, Sven.[95]

Hansson, Anders, gunner.[96]

Johansson, Gustaf.[97]

Johans[s]on, Jacob, boatswain.[98]

Jörans[s]on, Eric, boatswain.[99]

Jostsen, Berent, "sailmaker."[100]

Stijrman, Matheus, the ship-carpenter.[101]

Mat[s]on Menlös, Mickel, soldier.[102]

Norman Östens[s]on, Nils, soldier.[103]

Olofs[s]on, Sigfrid, boatswain.[104]

Olofsson Skinnare (skinner), Nils.[105]

Olofsson, Johan, common sailor.[106]

Petersson, Johan, from Stockholm.[107]

Stegsson, Hans.

Swens[s]on, Anders, boatswain.[108]

Stake, Lars Ericks[s]on, soldier(?).[109]

Torkels[s]on, Olof, boatswain.[110]

---

[90] Most of these were on the *Haj* and stayed in New Holland. It is probable, however, that many of them went to New Sweden after 1655.

[91] Hired at Stockholm in 1653 for 4 R.D. a month.

[92] On the *Haj*, 1654. Stayed in New Amsterdam.

[93] Hired at Stockholm in 1653, for 4 R.D. a month; he probably left on the *Haj*.

[94] On the *Haj*, 1654.

[95] Hired at Stockholm in 1653 to serve in New Sweden for a wage of 4 R.D. a month. He probably went on the *Haj* and stayed in New Amsterdam.

[96] On the *Örn*, 1654. Probably same as Anders Hansson who was paid 15:18 D. in 1641 by the Admiralty. He perhaps died on the journey.

[97] Hired at Stockholm in 1653.

[98] On the *Haj*, 1654, remained in New Amsterdam.

[99] On the *Haj*, 1654, remained in New Amsterdam.

[100] On the *Haj* in 1654.

[101] On the *Haj* 1654, stayed in New Amsterdam.

[102] Hired in Stockholm in 1653.

[103] Hired in Stockholm in 1653.

[104] On the *Haj*, 1654.

[105] Hired at Stockholm in 1653 for 4 R.D. a month.

[106] On the *Haj*, 1654.

[107] Hired in Stockholm in 1653 for 4 R.D. a month.

[108] On the *Haj*, 1654.

[109] Hired in Stockholm in 1653.

[110] On the *Haj*, 1654.

VI. A LIST OF SOME OF THE OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS, WHO RETURNED TO EUROPE WITH DIRECTOR RISING IN 1655.[111]

Roll List of the officers and soldiers, who return to the fatherland, and undoubtedly are to receive each a month's wage from Peter Trotzig in Amsterdam, according to this inventory:

	R.D.
Lieutenant Sven Höök	16
Engineer Peter Lindheström	12
Ensign Petter Wendhell (Vendel)	12
Rev. Matthias Nertunius	10
Rev. Petrus (Peter) Hiort	6
Armorer Andhers Kiämpe	6
Corporal Andhers Olufsson	5
The commissary of stores Petter Mört	8
Drummer Swen Andhersson	6
Grefrijderen (freeman) Biörn Olufsson	5
The tailor, Lars Essbiörnsson	4
The soldier Mårten Crum (Krum)	4
The soldier Hans Preutz (also Pryss)	4
The soldier Lars Ionsson	4
The soldier(?) Carl Julius	4
The soldier Andhers Kiämpe	4
The soldier Håkan Åkerman	4
The soldier Hans Iikorn (also Ekor, squirrel)	4
The soldier Påfwel Quist (Kvist)	4
The soldier Erich Bengtsson	4
Total 20	158[112]

VII. ROLL LIST OF THE COLONISTS, ABOUT TO GO TO NEW SWEDEN, WHO HAVE BEEN EXAMINED AND WRITTEN DOWN TO THE SEVENTEENTH OF OCTOBER, 1655:

From Frijsdalen:[113]

Johan Grels[s]on with wife and three children	5
Mårtin Påfvelsson with wife only	2
Nils Nilsson (also Niels Nielsson) with wife and four children	6
Anders Larsson with wife and five children	7
Mats Matsson (also Matz Matzon) with wife and one child	3
Olof Olofsson (also Oluf Olufsson), a servant	1
Gertrud (Gertrudh) a [maid] servant	1
Joen Staffes[s]on(?), the blacksmith	1
Karin Andersdotter (Karin the daughter of Anders), a widow with one child	2
Marcus Sigfriedhsson, a servant	1
Jöran Jöransson, a servant	1
Nils Simonsson with wife and three children	5
Jöran Sigfridsson with wife	2
Hindrick Jacobsson with four almost grown sons	5
Grels Grelsson (also Greels Greelsson), a servant	1
Eric Matsson (Erich Matzon), a servant	1
Lars Larsson, a servant	1
Olof Clemetsson, a servant	1
Jonss Hindricksson, a servant	1
[E]lissabeth Esekelsdotter (daughter of Esekiel?), a servant	1
Olof Olofsson (Oluf Olufsson), a servant	1

1655

From Lijtestegen:[114]

Thomas (also Thomes) Jacobsson with wife, maid-servant and three children	6
Påfvell Persson with wife, maid-servant and three children.	6
Olof (Oluf) Philips[s]on with wife and five children	7
Pavel (Påfvel?) Nils[s]on with wife and two children	4
Olof Nils[s]on (also Oluf Nilsen), with wife only	2
Lars Bengtsson with wife, man-servant and four children	7
Jöns Jöns[s]on with wife and six children	8
Carol (Carl) Jöns[s]on with wife, maid-servant and three children	6
Eric Mårtensson (also Erick Mårtenson), with wife and two children	4
Johan Simonsson (Simonsen) with wife and three children.	5

---

[111] The list contains all but 17 names of the people who returned to Sweden.

[112] Original list signed by Rising, N. S., I. (R.A.), a draft (varies, the amount given is 148:15 R.D.) in *Söderk.* 1637–59 (R.A.).

[113] Probably *Fryksdal* in *Karlstads stift,* Värmland, Sweden.

[114] Cf. above, Chap. XLIX.

[115] Brunskog, north of lake Värmelen in Värmland, Sweden.

From Brunskogh S[ocke]n:[115]

Anders Jacobsson with wife, maid-servant and three children	6
Total	110[116]

1655

1655

NAMES OMITTED IN LIST V. ABOVE (p. 716 ff.):

Botsman, Anders.
Ekor, Anders.
Larsson, Alexander (Sander).
Larsson, Olof.
Månsson, Jon (Johan).
Matsson, Anders.
Persson, Håkan.
Persson, Måns.
Ref (Räf), Nils.
Sakrisson, Anders.

The above were all soldiers except Botsman and they were paid various sums by Rising. Rising's *Process* (R.A.).

---

[116] The list was made by Admiral Anckarhjelm on October 17, 1655, and sent with a letter of the same date to Kramer. It is now preserved in N. S., I. (R.A.). In all probability all of these 110 colonists remained here.

APPENDIX C.

DOCUMENTS AND TRANSLATIONS OF DOCUMENTS.

I.

Instruction,

Hwarefter Generale Commercie Collegium will opå Södre Compagnietz wägnar, att Commissarien uthi bemte. Gen. Comm. Collegio, Edle och Wälb. Johan Rissing, uthi Nya Swerige och annorstädes i America å bemte. Compagnietz tiänst, såssom een Assistentz Rådh sigh skall hafva att förhålla.

1.

Skall han efter alla förmågo där hän trachta, att han uthi denne tiänst Hens. Kongl. Maijttz. wår allernådigste drottningh sampt Fäderneslandzens ähro och Reputation där söker at uthwidga och stabiliera, och till den ända medh flijt effterföllier alt dett, som kan tiäna till Kongl. Maijttz. Intention medh Södre Compagniet där i wärket att ställa, all hinder och skada efter sitt bästa weth och macht att afwäria eller i tidh tillkänna gifwa; hwar till Gouverneuren medh alle dhem, som där på Kongl. Maijttz. och Compagnietz wägnar böra giöra och låtha, tillwärkia och handen räckia skola.

2.

Skall han iämpte Gouverneuren omvårdnat draga, att een flitigh Gudztiänst där hållas måtte, och at alla sigh under den Augustaniske bekennelssen undergifwa, och at alla fåfänga disputer till Sinnes förhittzningar förtagas och afwärias, Så at alt till Eenigheet i dett stycket och Gudz nampne till ähro sckickas och ställas måtte.

3.

I synnerheet schal hans beställningh wara, att han medh Gouverneurens Rådh skall tillsee, at landet måte uthi godt schick ställas, Så wäll medh Politike Regiringen och Justitie wäsendet, Såssom och medh Commercierne och till coloniens rätta innrättningh och förmehringh goda Ordinancier författa och att dhe sampteligen draga omsorgh att

The ship *Fama.*[14]
Skipper, Thering Hindricksen.
Boatswain, Nils Svensson.

6. *The Sixth Expedition, 1643–1644.*

The ship *Fama* (second voyage to New Sweden).
Skipper, Peter Påwelsson Kabeliaw.[15]
Mate, Jacob Cornelisen.

The cost of the cargo was 13,563:10 D. (12,214:16 D. for the Indian trade, 1,348:26 D. for the needs of the colony).

The ship *Kalmar Nyckel* (sailed to the West Indian Island, cf. above).
Captain, Berendt Hermansson Hopp.
Skipper, Vinsent Beckman.

7. *The Seventh Expedition, 1646–1647.*

The ship *Gyllene Haj*[16] (the *Golden Shark*).
Captain, Jan Jochimsen[17] from Cappel.
Mate, Jacob Albrechtsen.

The cost of the cargo was 10,075 D.

8. *The Eighth Expedition, 1647–1648.*

The ship *Swan* (second voyage to New Sweden).
Captain, Steffen Willemsen.[18]
Skipper, Nils Sifvertson.[19]

---

[14] It was called *Engelen* or *Fama* and *Tellige skeppet Fama* or *Tellige skeppet* Engelen.

The *Fama* belonged to the South-Ship Company (and was not bought by Västerviks skepskompani in 1641 as stated by Zettersten, *Sv. flot. hist.*, II. 567). It was rerigged in 1641, and later taken into the service of the Crown. In 1653 it was repaired, made journeys to Narva (Capt. Peter Petersson) in 1653–4, and to London in 1654 (Richard Staffort, Commander). It was lost during a fog in 1659 according to Zettersten. Cf. above, Chap. XLVIII., note 32; Beier to Fleming, 1638, Några Clas Fleming papper (R.A.); Gen. Hand. och Skepsk., II., 1623–52 (K.A.); Zettersten, *Sv. flot. hist.*, II. 567.

[15] Cabeliau.

[16] The *Haj* is not mentioned by Zettersten in *Sv. flot. hist.* It belonged to the South-Ship Company and was commanded by Skipper Peter Michelsson (Michelsen) in 1631–1633 who made several journeys with the ship. It was captured by Stuyvesant in 1654 and used by the Dutch in the West Indian trade. Cf. above, Chap. XL.; *Gen. Hand. och Skepsk.*, III. 1630–1636[7] (K.A.).

[17] Johan Jochimsson.

[18] Stephen Williamsson.

[19] Nels Siwersen (Siversson).

Lieutenant, Anders Jönsson.[20]
Mate, Jan Jansson Bockhorn.[21]
Cost of cargo was 11,964 D.

9. *The Ninth Expedition, 1649.*

The ship *Katt*[22] (the *Cat*).
Commander, Hans Amundsson.
Captain, Cornelius Lucifer.
Skipper, Måns Bengtsson.
Mate, Jan Jansson Bockhorn.

Cost of cargo exclusive of ammunition and cannon was 5,215 D.

10. *The Tenth Expedition, 1654.*

The ship *Örn* (the *Eagle*).[23]
Commander, Johan Rising.
Captain, Jan Jansson Bockhorn.

11. *The Eleventh Expedition, 1654.*

The ship *Gyllene Haj* (did not reach New Sweden).
Commander, Hendrick Elswick.
Mate, Anders Matheus(?) from Amsterdam.
Second mate, Bengt Olsson.
Lieutenant, Sven Höök.

12. *Twelfth Expedition, 1655–1656.*

The ship *Mercurius.*[24]

---

[20] Andreas Jöranson (Jonson).

[21] Johan Janson Bockhorn.

[22] The *Cat* belonged to the government. It carried from 18 to 22 cannon and had a crew of about 50 sailors. It took part in the naval expeditions against the Danes, 1644–1645. Was wrecked near Porto Rico in 1649 and then burnt by the Spaniards. Cf. above, and *Rådspr.*, IX. 333, etc.

[23] The *Örn* was taken from the Danes in June, 1644, and was rerigged the following year at Wismar. It was 129½ (Swedish) feet long and 30 (Swedish) feet broad, carried 34 to 40 cannon and had a crew of about 80 men. It was repaired in the autumn of 1654, was ordered to bring Secretary Coijet to England in October, 1654 (*Am. Reg.*, October 4, 1654). According to Zettersten it was sunk at Karlskrona in 1680.

[24] *Mercurius* was bought in 1655 by Trotzig in Holland and was entirely rebuilt. It carried 14 cannon and was of about 100 lasts burden. It made journeys for some time after 1656 for the American Company. There were also two or three other ships by this name at the time. Cf. above, Chap. XLIX.; *Am. Reg.* (Fl. Ar.), May 22, 1644, October 8, 1653, January 14, 24, 1654, June 23, July 21, 1657, etc.; Zettersten, *Sv. flot. hist.*, II. 576–7. (The *Mercurius* belonging to the American Company is not mentioned by Zettersten.)

INDEX

N. B. The Swedish letters *å*, *ä* and *ö* are treated like *a* and *o* and do not follow the Swedish order. In some cases information not to be found in the text about men and places is given in the index and in most instances various spellings of the proper names found in the documents are given in parenthesis. All the abbreviations used in the text are either printed in full in the index or referred to the proper place in the bibliography. The names of the settlers are given under the heading colonists, and the various expeditions, forts and ships are given together under the headings expeditions, forts and ships, respectively.

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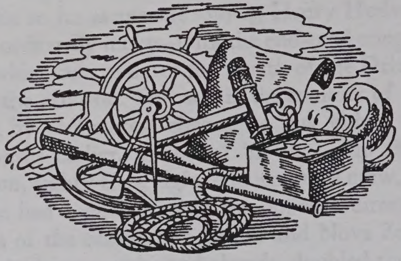

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GARDEN CITY 1945 NEW YORK

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So these were the initial Philadelphians, unless we choose to go back to prehistory, and vaguely the memory of them haunts the narrow streets of Philadelphia, just as does the memory of the tall pines, and the oaks, and the maples and the gums; and the memory of the small clear streams, forest reflections in them. Especially on hot nights, and on misty quiet afternoons in Indian summer, is this memory strong.

The small clear streams are still there, but they are no longer clear, and for generations they have been hidden, first under cobblestones, then Belgian bricks, now asphalt. The sun no longer reaches them even through leaves, for they are part of the city's sewer system. A sad fate for a forest stream.

CHAPTER III

Dutch, Swedes, Finns, and the English

"This would be an excellent place for a towne."

Supposed to have been said by a member of the crew of the ship Shield, *as she passed the site of Philadelphia on her way up the Delaware in 1678 to the Quaker colony of Burlington.*

POSSIBLY Giovanni Verrazano saw the bay in 1524. And Vasquez d'Ayllon in 1525. And Estavan Gomez, the Portuguese in the service of the Emperor Charles V. And at various times other early pathfinders. But so far as anyone knows, Henry Hudson, the Englishman, that extraordinarily lucky—until the end—and congenital explorer, was the first white man to enter the mouth of the Delaware. A week later he found the Hudson. This was in the summer of 1609.

It was by the merest chance he saw either, for to begin with, three months earlier, on board his tiny ship the *Halve Maen*, or *Half Moon*, eighty tons, eighteen men in his crew, some English, some Dutch, he had been headed in the opposite direction, trying to find, by means of the east Arctic Ocean and Nova Zembla, a way to the Indies and China, and he had already doubled the North Cape when overtaken by late-spring fogs and cold. His crew, a fractious one, the same crew which in big Zeeland breeches is supposed to play at bowls every time there is a thunderstorm in the Catskills, and whom Rip Van Winkle met, was close to mutiny, so Hudson, more reasonable than most explorers, after consultation, turned about and stood southwest across the Atlantic to find if possible in warmer climates the Westward Passage instead of the Eastern.

Hudson had been subsidized by the Dutch East India Company for

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the sum, small even at the time, of sixty-four pounds, plus sixteen more to be paid his wife if he failed to return. But on this new course he was not entirely without directions, for he was a good friend of Captain John Smith, and Captain Smith had told him about Virginia. Late in August the *Half Moon* was off the Virginia Capes and, heading north, on the 28th Hudson saw the great bay that led to Penn's province, seventy-three years before Penn did. Hudson stayed only a day and then proceeded up the Jersey coast to the river that was to bear his name. But he loved the Delaware and left a glowing description of it.

A fascinated visitor he would be to modern New York and Philadelphia, this strange, perpetually interested Englishman! The memory of the *Half Moon* hangs in the sky above the Delaware Capes and Sandy Hook.

The next transient was another Englishman, Captain, or Sir, Samuel Argall, who a year later, July 1610, coming back to Virginia from Bermuda, where he had gone for supplies, dropped in upon the wide bay that led to the wide river—Hudson's sweet-smelling and "pleasant" river—and gave the bay its present name. He called the bay and the cape he sighted Delaware, in honor of the governor of Virginia, Sir Thomas West, Twelfth Baron de la Warr, who had arrived posthaste at Jamestown only a month earlier to prevent the dissolution of the starving colony to the south.

Once more chance, this time influenced by flattery, as it so often is, made history.

For some reason Delaware is a singularly beautiful and appropriate name for a great river and a great bay, but Argall wasn't thinking of beauty. He was a man obsequious to his superiors and bitterly tyrannical to his inferiors. Eight years later, in 1618, Lord de la Warr had to start again for Virginia to try to piece together the wreckage left by Argall's rule as deputy, but he never reached Virginia; he died at sea. Meanwhile, in 1613, Argall, exercising his authority, had sailed into the North River and had informed the astonished Hendrik Christiaenzen, superintendent of the small Dutch trading post recently established on the island of Manhattan, that under the great charter granted the London Company by James I in 1606, the Hudson, the Delaware, and everything else, belonged to Virginia, and that if the Dutchmen wanted to stay they would have to pay tribute.

The cat was out of the bag; the jinn of exploration and settlement had escaped from his bottle, never to be put back again.

For fifty-four years, from 1613 to 1667 and the Treaty of Breda, when the English gained final possession of all the lands contained in the states of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, save for a brief period in 1673–74 when the Dutch were in control again, for two generations that is, the Dutch, the Swedes, and the English wrangled, and sometimes fought, and claimed and counterclaimed, and settled tentatively or otherwise along the Delaware. During that period the Swedes were the most tenacious and intelligent of the newcomers and had they been better supported at home, would have accomplished more.

To Sir Samuel Argall and Virginia the Dutch States General made quick reply. Virginia or no Virginia, and the same to James I, in 1614 the Dutch States General passed an ordinance claiming exclusive trade privileges to all of America, and seven years later, in 1621, amplified this by chartering the Dutch West India Company with rights as wide as any king of England could imagine. Not only was the new company granted exclusive trade with the Americas from the Straits of Magellan to Newfoundland, and exclusive trade along the coast of Africa from the Tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope, but exclusive colonization rights as well. No one could have asked for more. The only problem was how to get it and keep it, especially with such people as the English abroad in the world.

When it comes to restraints of trade, modern man, compared to the seventeenth-century variety, for all his cartels, is a child.

The first result of the comparatively mild Dutch ordinance of 1614, so far as Pennsylvania was concerned, was the further naming of Delaware Bay.

In that year the United New Netherland Company dispatched from Manhattan Captain Cornelis Jacobsen Mey, of Hoorn, Holland with his ship *Fortune*, and Captain Cornelis Hendricksen with his cockleshell of sixteen tons, the sloop *Onrust*, or *Restless*, to explore more thoroughly what the Dutch called the Zueydt, or South River, to distinguish it from the North, or Hudson, which flowed past their new fur settlement. Captain Mey with a weather eye out for future fame no sooner saw the Delaware Capes than he named both after himself; the north one Mey, the south one Cornelis. Unfortunately he

mistook a long sand bar for another cape and named this Hindlopen, and in time the false cape submerged with its name the real cape, and —the name Hindlopen corrupted—the real cape became known as Henlopen. Cape Mey also became Cape May, a spelling that the majority of Philadelphians take for granted because it is in that month that the thoughts of many of them turn vaguely toward the peculiarly Philadelphian summer resort which in the eighties and nineties of the last century first began to look down its nose at the more cosmopolitan, and therefore more vulgar, Atlantic City to the north.

Captain Mey in his bid for fame failed utterly to reckon with the obstinacy of the English, especially where their language is concerned.

All though history, English mouths, unashamed, have changed foreign syllables to their liking. On the Delaware were two examples of this so dramatic as to bear repeating. Captain Mey named a small creek Hoornkill after his native town in Holland; this became Horekill, and so to the English, Whorekill, a corruption which led to the assumption of complacency on the part of Indian maidens, exciting but unfounded on facts. In the same way Morderskill, or Mother's Creek, named later on by the Swedes, became Murderkill.

Before long, Captain Mey sailed back to Europe, leaving the expedition in charge of his associate, Captain Hendricksen, who, from his reports to Holland, seems to have ascended the Delaware as far as Coaquannock, the future site of Philadelphia, although this is by no means certain. At all events Captain Hendricksen said that he found three rivers, which were probably the Delaware, the Christina, and the Schuylkill. Also, he explored the banks of the Delaware, trading with the Indians. As interesting a feature of this expedition as any was the fact that his cockleshell, the *Restless*, was the first American-built ship. The year before, its keel had been laid near Manhattan by Captain Hendricksen's friend, Captain Adriaen Block, discoverer of Long Island, whose name is perpetuated off the northeast tip of that lobster-shaped principality.

Above all, somewhere near present-day Wilmington, Captain Hendricksen came upon three lost and hardy Dutchmen, captives of the Minquas, who almost a year before had left Manhattan and, ascending the Hudson, in a big circle had made their way south across mountains and through forests to where Hendricksen found them. They

told him what they had seen. Says Hendricksen in his report to Holland, speaking in the respectful third person:

> First he hath discovered for his aforesaid Masters and Directors, certain lands, a bay and three rivers situate between 38 and 40 degrees.
>
> And did there trade with the Inhabitants; said trade consisting of Sables, Furs, Robes and other skins.
>
> He hath found said country full of trees, to wit, Oaks, hickory and pines; which trees were, in some places covered with vines.
>
> He hath seen, in said country, Bucks and does, turkeys and partridges.
>
> He hath found the climate of the said country very temperate, judging it to be as temperate as that of this country Holland.

No wonder the Dutch thought they had prior rights, and in 1623, two years after the all-embracing charter granted the West India Company, they set out to prove their belief. In that year Captain Cornelis Mey, returning to the new country as director of the trading post at Manhattan, encouraged by the report of Captain Hendricksen, shortly after his arrival sent a handful of Walloon colonists and a handful of troops to settle on the Delaware.

This proved to be a halfhearted, unsuccessful expedition. The Dutch were preoccupied with their post to the north and had neither men nor money to spare. The meager attempts at colonization on the part of the Walloons near the mouth of Delaware Bay petered out, but the few troops with them did achieve a further historic advance.

Leaving the Walloon families to the care of themselves, the soldiers went up the river as far as the site of Philadelphia and on the New Jersey side, directly opposite League Island, built of logs the first permanent settlement in that part of America. This was Fort Nassau, part military post, part fur post, and with Fort Nassau it might be said the port of Philadelphia was officially opened, although it was another fifty-nine years before anything much happened. Nor was Fort Nassau ever more than an in-and-out permanent settlement, the Dutch alternately occupying it and abandoning it, and occupying and abandoning it, until, in 1651, they abandoned it completely and removed its guns to Fort Casimir at New Castle.

Meanwhile the English had not been idle. They never were during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. In 1634 two Englishmen, Robert Evelyn and Thomas Young, had sailed as far up

the Delaware as Coaquannock and had started to build a trading post at the mouth of the Schuylkill, but they stayed less than a week. The next year an expedition under Captain George Holmes, more determined, and under orders of the governor of Virginia, attempted to capture Fort Nassau, with the result that Captain Holmes was captured himself and sent to New Amsterdam in chains. Not content with this, six years later, in 1641, Connecticut, acting under the delusions of grandeur already noted, sent a group of sixty Puritans, disgusted with the New England weather and conditions there, from New Haven to build a blockhouse, also at the mouth of the Schuylkill, and form a colony. The Puritans had no better luck than the Virginians. The Dutch of Fort Nassau burned their blockhouse and sent them too to New Amsterdam. But in 1649 the persistent New Englanders tried again. On their way south, however, stopping off at the Hudson with extraordinary self-confidence to say the least, they ran into Director General Peter Stuyvesant who had arrived two years before, and that man of vigor told them in no uncertain terms to mind their own business and go back where they came from unless they wanted to get shot.

At the time the Delaware was under the control of the Swedes, and it wasn't that Stuyvesant loved the Swedes, but that he liked the English less and recognized that they were much more dangerous rivals.

Poor Peter Stuyvesant! For the seventeen years of his directorship he lived like a thin-skinned nut between the jaws of a nutcracker, and shortly before the taking over of New Amsterdam by the English in 1664, he wrote a letter to the Dutch West India Company containing this despairing sentence:

"Alas, the English are ten to one in number to us, and are able to deprive us of the country when they please."

By 1664, the year in which Colonel Richard Nicolls appeared before New Amsterdam with his calm demand for surrender, there were at least, to the south, fifty thousand English in Maryland and Virginia and, to the northeast and east, an equal number in New England, while at no time were there more than ten thousand Dutch around New Amsterdam. As for the Swedes on the Delaware, they were an absurd handful; at the most, and this not until later, a thousand or so soldiers and settlers with their women and children. Peter Stuyvesant, also the Swedes, were between what we now call "a pincer movement."

And now here is a strange thing.

For some reason not explained, some mysterious coming together of circumstances, the Delaware all during the latter two thirds of the seventeenth century was the Samarcand, the Carcassone, the focal point of "holy experiments"; more or less holy, that is. At least they had more of the spiritual in them than the majority of colonization schemes. William Penn's "Holy Experiment" was merely the last.

The great Swede, Gustavus Adolphus, weary as all wise men must have been of the endless wars of Europe, also dreamed a dream of a Rasselas Valley, a place of goodness and simple toil where men "fleeing from bloody battlefields, and homes made desolate by the fire and sword of the persecutor," as set forth to him by Willem Usselinx, of Amsterdam, could find security and content. There was to be absolute freedom of conscience (so long, that is, as one was a Protestant), there was to be no slavery of any kind, there was to be equal opportunity for all. Gustavus Adolphus dreamed this dream in 1624, but before he could do anything about it, the Thirty Years' War swept over Europe, and eight years later Gustavus Adolphus died on the field of Lützen November 6, 1632.

And a grim death it was.

Badly wounded and lost from his men, he lay in the mist and the dusk while his enemies, a couple of Wallenstein's horsemen, worked an hour or so to find their way inside his flawless armor. Finally they stabbed him in the eye through his open visor.

Also about this time occurred the most tragic, and also seriocomic, "holy experiment" on the Delaware, and certainly in many ways the most romantic: "holy experiment" distinguished by a wistful sort of madness in the person and plans of Sir Edmund Plowden, an Irish knight, who never having been in America, but saturated with the Irish legend of St. Brendan and his miraculous voyage, and obviously wearied of a nagging wife and eighteen children, finally badgered Charles I into granting him a huge tract of land comprising practically all of what is now Maryland, Delaware, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. St. Brendan, you remember, was the Irish saint who, setting sail across the Atlantic in the sixth century with some followers, found "The Promised Land of the Saints" or "The Isles of St. Brendan." This

story, like the story of Atlantis, in one form or another is found in practically all European mythology, and so there may be more to it than formal historians allow; in any case, it is indicative of the urge toward the western sun that since time immemorial has haunted Europe, and which has had so much to do with the development of America.

Like the lemmings, they have come, not always knowing why.

Sir Edmund Plowden, like St. Brendan, thought of America as a land "where angels in the guise of birds sang matins, prime, and evensong, and all such service as Christian men delight to hear," and where the sweet breezes were never too hot nor too cold, an exaggerated picture to say the least of the American climate. However, he was a persistent man as well as a poet, and a true fanatic, not to mention a real-estate promoter, for it is clear that it was with a gesture of royal weariness that Charles I deeded him land his father, James I, had already in great part deeded Maryland and the Calverts; also he made Sir Edmund an Earl Palatine: a large title, since it implies practically a subkingdom. Sir Edmund's intention was to found a principality called New Albion and establish a new nobility, at the core of which was to be an order called the Knights of New Albion. His oldest daughter, Barbara, for example, was to be Baroness of Richneck with an estate in southern New Jersey "of twenty-four miles compasse."

Sir Edmund got out a prospectus and started to sell stock and grant lands and titles of nobility, but meanwhile his less lyric wife sued him for divorce because he beat her, and in this was assisted by the local parson's wife, who sued Sir Edmund for assault and battery. Sir Edmund was living on his estate at Wanstead, England, at the time. Also Cecil Calvert, second Lord Baltimore, objected strongly to the proposed intrusion. When ten years later Sir Edmund, Earl Palatine, finally did get to the Delaware by way of Virginia and Maryland, he met with a completely cold reception on the part of the settlers already there, and eventually his mutinous crew marooned him half naked on an island, from which he was rescued in the nick of time.

He went back to England, and the province of New Albion went with him.

One hates to leave Sir Edmund. The Sir Edmunds of the world are engaging characters so long as one does not have to see too much of them or buy any of their stocks. Nor is the breed extinct; it is perennial. Almost everyone has a Sir Edmund or two in his life. Whatever success they have, outside of their hypnotic personalities, is based on man's conviction that no matter how much of a hell he makes of his own particular environment, somewhere, if only he has the price of the voyage, paradise awaits him.

As for the Swedish holy experiment, not until 1637, five years after Gustavus Adolphus' death, and in the reign of his daughter, Christina, then a child of eleven, did the first Swedish expedition leave Europe, arriving on the Delaware the following spring, and by that time the Swedish holy experiment had become more commonplace and commercial. The Swedes landed far down near Cape Hindlopen, but did not stay long, and making their way upstream, finally settled on the site of what is now Wilmington, where twenty-three years earlier Captain Hendricksen had come upon his three lost Dutchmen. Here where the Brandywine, that lovely and rural stream which Philadelphians think belongs exclusively to them and to their rolling, fox-hunting country to the west, joins a sluggish creek, the Swedes began to build. And in this fashion began Pennsylvania's proud and tiny neighbor to the south, Delaware; a state, except in its northern reaches, where it is practically the same, as different from Pennsylvania as is imaginable.

The Swedes called the sluggish creek and its quick-running confluent, the Brandywine, the Christina, after their child queen, and so small is Delaware that its inhabitants still think Christina Creek a river.

Along with the Swedes came some Finns, Finland at that time belonging to Sweden. "Forest-destroying Finns," they were called in a royal Swedish mandate of the period, who "against our edict and proclamation, destroy the forests by setting tracts of wood on fire, in order to sow in the ashes, and who maliciously fell trees." But the Finns, whatever they were in Sweden, made a contribution to American living and history far in excess of their numbers; they gave this country its symbolic dwelling. Forest people, timber men, they found the magnificent new forests exactly to their liking and built the first American log cabins.

CHAPTER IV

Printz, the Tub

Joram Bagman, and Lasse Cock, and Göstaf Göstafsson, and Paul
Mink, and Peter Stalag, and old Uncle Olle Stobey, and all.
Names taken from list of Swedish settlers.

ODDLY enough, this first Swedish expedition was led by a Dutchman, Peter Minuit, or rather, a French Huguenot who had become a Dutchman, and had been proposed originally by another Dutchman, or, once more, a Dutch citizen, Willem Usselinx, a Belgian who had settled as a merchant in Amsterdam, and who was the first to interest Gustavus Adolphus in America. Moreover, after the death of both Usselinx and Gustavus Adolphus, the plan for a New Sweden had been carried to completion by Samuel Blommaert, Peter Silfverkrona, and other Dutchmen, disgusted, like Usselinx, by the arrogance and indifference to the Delaware country of the Dutch West India Company. So, paradoxically enough, New Sweden was largely a Dutch idea. Minuit himself had been director of New Amsterdam for six years, and was the man who had completed the famous purchase of that island at a price New Yorkers should remember when swollen with pride:

Beads, other trinkets, and a few pieces of bright cloth to the value of sixty guilders. Something less than twenty-four dollars.

The Swedes were excellent colonizers. For twenty years they dwelt in peace with the Indians, and Christina grew to be a comely village, and Swedish outposts and farms, especially in the time of Governor Printz, spread out thinly along the Delaware north of Christina and a little way up the Schuylkill. On the site of Philadelphia itself were a

couple of Swedish blockhouses. All this to begin with was done with about ninety men, settlers and soldiers. It was in 1643 that the huge and famous Printz arrived—and stayed ten years; and for those ten years there was much color in New Sweden, and swearing and roaring and drilling and discipline and progress, but in 1653 Printz, worn out by lack of support, returned to Europe, leaving his son-in-law, Johan Papegoja, and his daughter, Papegoja's wife, Armegot Printz, in charge. Armegot Printz was as colorful as her father, a blonde handsome giantess of a woman, who continued her father's viceregal court at Printz Hall on the Tinicum; a sort of backwoods palace Printz had built, with "orchards, pleasure house" and so on, "all very handsome."*

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*Armegot Printz was one of the most fascinating personalities who ever haunted what were to be the suburbs of Philadelphia. Large like her father, beautiful in her own way, willful and domineering, she became a tradition that persisted for over a hundred years along the Delaware. The lady deserves at least one novel and at least one biography, for she is as rich a subject as "The Tub" and as delightful to read about, although, so far as one can make out, equally objectionable to live with. Johan Papegoja, her husband, a mild fellow, apparently found her so, for just as soon as possible after the departure of his father-in-law with all the Printz family except Armegot, a wife, and four other daughters, that is, John sailed for Sweden too, leaving Armegot in sole possession of Tinicum Island and Printz Hall, or Printsdorp Manor. Armegot, assured in her holdings by Peter Stuyvesant, whom she had petitioned to this effect, settled down to almost a quarter of a century—twenty-three years—of irascibility, lawsuits, quarrels with neighbors, and, wherever possible, tyranny.

A hundred years later, the Rev. Israel Acrelius, Swedish visitor and chronicler of the Swedish settlements along the Delaware, writes: "They still tell of the lady of Tenacong, how haughty she was, and how she oppressed the poor when in prosperity."

Armegot finally sold Tinicum to a Frenchman named De la Grange for six thousand guilders and sailed off to Sweden in 1662, but De la Grange dying during her absence before final payment was made, Armegot came back and sued his widow for the balance, or else restoration of the estate. At this juncture, another Frenchman appeared, suitor for Madame de la Grange's hand, a M. la Motte; but Armegot, suspecting his ability to pay, continued her suit and won it in the New York Court of Assizes. For a while she lived on Tinicum entirely alone save for one manservant because, as it is recorded, no one had the least "inclination to live with her." While living in this solitary fashion, most of her income was derived from a still with which she made "corn liquor" under a license from the new English governor, Sir Francis Lovelace, who, apparently having heard all about her, added the proviso that the making of this corn liquor "be done with such moderation that no just complaint do arise thereby."

In 1676, Armegot, having sold Tinicum again to one Otto Cock for the considerably smaller sum of three hundred guilders, sailed back to Sweden for the last time and died there in 1695.

Armegot cannot exactly be claimed as "a Philadelphia girl," for she lived down the river near what is now Upland, and besides, she departed from this country six years before Philadelphia was founded; but nonetheless she was more or less the mold of a certain type of Philadelphia beauty, tall, well boned, blue-eyed, free-striding, proud and self-sufficient. Like all cities, counties, or countries, Philadelphia has produced several distinct breeds of women, conditioned by climate, environment, and

Printz, "The Tub," Lieutenant Colonel Johan Printz of the Swedish Cavalry, was a huge and extraordinary man, and despite his swearing and drinking an energetic and capable administrator, although his record in the Swedish Army had not been very good and he had been court-martialed for his behavior at the Battle of Chemnitz and had been sent out as governor of New Sweden more or less as a punishment. David Pietersen de Vries, the Dutchman, describes him as weighing "four hundred pounds" and taking "three drinks" with every meal. It was fortunate, considering his irascibility and obstinacy, that he had sailed for home before Peter Stuyvesant, up in New Amsterdam, really got going. Peter Stuyvesant would have broken Printz's heart. For peg-legged Peter Stuyvesant, West Indian hero, was a man of equal irascibility and much more sense and decision; also there were more Dutchmen in America than Swedes. Stuyvesant, arriving as director of New Amsterdam in May of 1647, eight years later, everything ready, sent seven ships and seven hundred men to the Delaware to take over New Sweden. No nonsense this time. The armada, huge for the time and place, anchored off the Swedish forts and demanded their surrender. Johan Printz was gone; the Swedes had neither enough men nor enough ammunition—two rounds only for their handful of troops. For nine years the Dutch remained in undisputed possession, and then, September 8, 1664, Peter Stuyvesant had to surrender New Amsterdam to Colonel Nicolls and the English under circumstances as humiliating as those attending the Swedes' surrender of Christina to him.

In the spring of 1664 Charles II of England had presented to his brother, James, Duke of York, later to be James II, all the land between the Connecticut River and Maryland. This tour de force was confirmed three years later by the Treaty of Breda, but without waiting for the Treaty of Breda, immediately following Stuyvesant's surrender, Sir Robert Carr was sent by Colonel Nicolls from New York to rule the Delaware, and English-speaking the Delaware has remained ever since except for a year, 1673–74, when it went back to the Dutch, only to be returned to the English by the Treaty of Westminster.

Unlike the Swedes, the Dutch were not especially good colonizers; they were better traders and sailors. For one thing, and extremely important at the time, they were suspicious of the Indians and harsh to them on the slightest provocation. They were neither as easygoing and as opportunistic as the English, nor as just and considerate as the Swedes. As early as 1631, and their first serious attempt at colonization along the Delaware, Zwaanendael, Swan Valley, where Lewes, Delaware, now stands, the Dutch had begun to have trouble with the Indians, with the result that Zwaanendael was wiped out, burned to the ground, and its handful of colonists massacred to the last man. But the Swedes were as determinedly peaceable as the Quakers, save for the reign of Johan Printz, and, once incorporated into the life of Penn's province, added much to the vigor and intelligence of its southeastern tip with their learning, their tolerance, and their good taste. On the other hand, unlike New York and its state, where everywhere their influence remains, the Dutch made hardly any impression upon the Delaware at all. The Pennsylvania "Dutchmen," who were to come later and spread all through Bucks and Berks and Lehigh and Lebanon and York and Lancaster counties, and who represent one of the four main streams of eastern Pennsylvania culture, weren't Dutchmen at all, except for some of the earlier Mennonites, but Germans; Palatinate Germans.

Even the Swedish architecture slipped gracefully into the spiritual mood of Quaker architecture, and in that country of easy quarries and beautiful rock, if it did not influence, at least blended perfectly with the Pennsylvania stone house which, farmhouse or country house, is the most quiet, the most foursquare, the coolest, the warmest, and the most dignified house in America. If you don't believe this, go into one on a hot August afternoon when its shadows are as blue and deep as water, and the air smells of wheat and leaves and gilliflowers and hollyhock and geraniums, and the China matting that once, and so sensibly, was popular.

As you pass through Wilmington on your way to Baltimore and Washington, you can see Old Swedes Church, now Holy Trinity, built in 1698, and in Philadelphia, on the banks of the Delaware, is Gloria Dei, built in 1700, on the site of a Swedish blockhouse dedi-

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inherited ideas. Women, although even nowadays more hampered than men, perhaps for that very reason are more individual than men; within the circle allotted to them, more distinct. Armegot might be described as having "the blonde Philadelphia female characteristics" as exhibited by outdoor maidens and especially, perhaps, widows left to administer their husbands' estates.

cated as a church twenty-five years earlier, also called Old Swedes. These are among the two loveliest small churches a man can find, but to find Gloria Dei you have to pass through some of the most dejected slums in the world until there it sits, church and close and graveyard, like a jewel in a toad's head. Almost any city but Philadelphia would have done something about those slums. But perhaps the contrast is salutary.

The dead, and a place like Gloria Dei, cause energetic men to take up arms against the stupid and bitter selfishness of man.

* * *

It has been necessary to condense a long and colorful period, seventy-two years of it, almost three quarters of a century, into a few pages. The condensation was obligatory, but even more so the history, if for no other purpose than to impress on Philadelphians the fact that their city did not spring full-armed from the brow of William Penn as Minerva sprang full-armed from the brow of her father, Jove. Nothing human springs that way, and to think so limits the areas of proper pride and one loses the necessary sense of the pageant of his past.

Philadelphia did not start with a stout gentleman in a broad-brimmed Quaker hat and a shad-belly coat making a treaty with the Indians as the heroic painting of Benjamin West, the Philadelphia painter, a painting greatly reproduced and distributed, has led all but more scholarly Philadelphians to believe. To begin with, William Penn at the time was not elderly, he was only thirty-nine and was an exceedingly handsome man, in the full tide of his career. To end with, the Quakers had not as yet adopted any definite form of plain clothes, and if they had it is doubtful if William Penn would have worn them. He liked gallant and dashing clothes; inherently he was a gallant and dashing man. But that is not the principal point.

The principal point is that Philadelphia, so far as the white man is concerned, did not begin with William Penn at all, nor with the few Swedes, sixty or so, settled there when he arrived. Actually Philadelphia is three hundred and thirty years old, not two hundred and sixty-two years old as the more conservative historians would have you believe. Just as San Francisco began when Don Gaspar de Portola, governor of Lower California, sailed through the Golden Gate in 1769, so

Philadelphia actually began when Captain Hendricksen, from the deck of the *Restless*, if it was Captain Hendricksen, or if not, then the first white man to do so, saw the junction of the Delaware and the Schuylkill.

Cities are like people. The site of a city, and what took place on or near it, are as much a part of the city as are the slow months in the mother's womb a part of a man or woman; as are the long and misty generations that have culminated in that womb.

Henry Hudson and the *Half Moon*, Captains Mey and Hendricksen, Sir Samuel Argall, Gilles Hossett and the butchered colony of Zwaanendael, David Pietersen de Vries, Sir Edmund Plowden, Willem Usselinx, Peter Minuit, the huge tub Johan Printz, Peter Stuyvesant; scores of others, Dutchmen, Swedes, Finns, and English; some who actually saw the tall pines of Coaquannock, some who didn't; and all the hundreds of settlers whose names are now forgotten, are part of Philadelphia.

And so, too, is Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, dead on the battlefield of Lützen, and every other man, or woman, proud or simple, rich or poor, who dreamed of something fine along the Delaware.

proceedings in America. Nicholas More, an exceedingly arrogant and arbitrary man and an outstanding example of Penn's weakness in selecting deputies, had been sent out by Penn to act as his representative before the Assembly and had been made chief justice. The Assembly lost its case, but only because the Lord Proprietor, then in England, loyally supported his subordinate.

Colonel Talbot and the chief justice were no more than pioneers. Since then the police blotter of Philadelphia has never been empty.

In 1682 John Skeetch, also a pioneer—this time in the field of bigamy—was arrested for having two wives in Bristol, England, and for having "now taken Mrs. Smith here to wife," and some years later, John Joyce, Jr., was presented for the same offense, although he had only two wives, not three. Even two, however, was obviously against "ye law of God and Man." In 1683 Philip England, who seems to have been a courteous citizen, complained against James Kilner for kicking a serving-maid who had spilled a slop jar on the deck of Kilner's vessel anchored in the river; Kilner having succumbed too easily to what we all at times have wished to do.

And so the list goes—and grows.

"Joseph Knight for suffering drunkeness and evil orders in his cave"; "Two Swedish women for being drunk." Reinert Peters fined twenty shillings "for calling the sheriff a liar and rascal in open street"; Peter Shoemaker, Jr., accusing the horses of John van der Willderness of being "unlawful because they do go over the fence where it had its full height."

Horses, too, were beginning to act like horses.

Peter Shoemaker, Jr., lost his case because, after due consideration, his fence was deemed not up to regulation.

And then there was George Muller, who not only had got drunk but had laid a wager "to smoke above one hundred pipes in one day." He was told to pay the constable two shillings for serving the warrant. And here, also, are two men of strong tempers and strong tongues: Herman Dors, who called Trinke op den Graeff a vile name, his children thieves, and his own sister a witch—plus another vile name; and Daniel Falkner, who summoned to court, behaved "like one who was last night drunk, and not yet having recovered his witts," and who shouted at the court, saying, "Ye are all fools!"

In 1685 occurred a very curious case involving one Peter Cock of

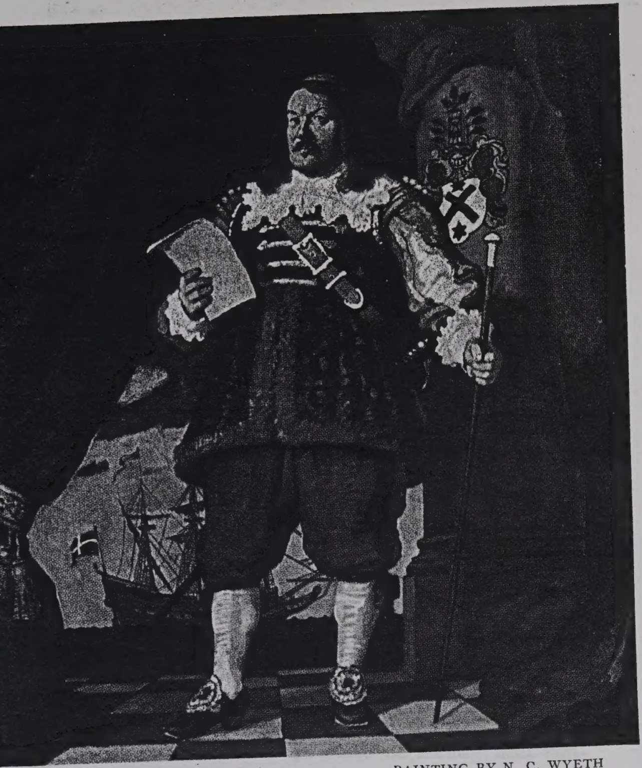
Kipbah and his young neighbor, John Rambo. Peter Cock accused John Rambo of having had criminal intercourse with Bridget, Peter's daughter, and there didn't seem to be any doubt about it, although the charitably inclined might well call the incident no more than a somewhat forceful proposal of marriage.

John Rambo, it seems, shortly before Christmas of 1684, climbed upon the roof of Peter Cock's house and, prying up some boards, dropped into the room where Bridget, the heroine, was sleeping with two younger sisters, aged sixteen and nineteen. John then got into bed with Bridget, proclaiming loudly that he was resolved to be her husband, just as his brother was the husband of Bridget's older sister. With this the two younger girls, apparently very obliging, had arisen and left the room. The court decided to aid John in his bold enterprise; it fined both him and Bridget ten pounds each on condition that John would marry Bridget at once, but ardor seems to have cooled, for subsequently John was fined another one hundred and fifty pounds for non-compliance.

A reckless young man, for Bridget's brother Lasse Cock was a prominent citizen and a justice of the peace.

And now more and more cases of this kind appeared, if not so dramatic, and in 1705 the City Fathers resorted to that last exasperation of the outraged moralist and passed an act outlawing fornication and adultery. Both continued to increase, and have ever since maintained a fairly high level both among the rich and the poor. For the first, or simple, fracture, the offenders were to be fined ten pounds or could take the choice of twenty-one lashes. For the latter, or compound, fracture, the punishment was the same amount of lashes and imprisonment at hard labor for a year, or—and this has all the appearance of class legislation favoring the lecherous rich—the account could be settled for fifty pounds, if you had it, except that the innocent spouses of the guilty parties had the right to sue for divorce. But even the rich had need to exercise care, for the second offense meant seven years in jail, and no alternative.

Meanwhile numerous couples had seized time by the forelock, including John Moon and his serving-wench, Martha Williams—a mere matter of twenty and ten pounds respectively—and Elizabeth Glann and Peter Packonet; in the latter case, Elizabeth Glann being fined ten pounds and Peter Packonet nothing.



PAINTING BY N. C. WYETH

JOHAN PRINTZ, *Governor of New Sweden*, 1643-53

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THE DUTCH & SWEDES *on the* DELAWARE 1609-64

By CHRISTOPHER WARD

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PHILADELPHIA·MCMXXX

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CHAPTER XXII

OF A HOMESICK HANDFUL

1648

IN THE midst of it, early in 1648, the eighth expedition arrived in the *Swan*. The cargo was of the usual trade goods, axes, kettles and the like, but also included one hogshead of wine, doubtless for the governor, forty-eight barrels of "ships-beer" and four barrels of "good beer." There were class dis- ctions in the land of freedom even in those early days. w colonists came. The most important being Rev. Lars rlsson Lock, who remained for many years, and of whom re shall be heard.

The failure to receive new immigrants was now resulting in onstantly decreasing population. In 1648 Printz's census owed only seventy-nine men in the whole of New Sweden, luding the one lonely negro slave, and of these but twenty- ht were freemen settled on farms or plantations. These in- pendent settlers were well enough satisfied with their con- ion. They were sending down roots into the soil, and, few ough they were, they showed promise of steady and con- uous growth. But the others, soldiers and servants, were atly discontented. The soldiers were on foreign duty. Most the servants were transported convicts. None of these was

abroad of his own free will, and they all wanted to go home. Several of them did go home when the *Swan* sailed in May. New Sweden seemed to be fading from the map of North America.

Printz's original engagement as governor had been for three years. At the end of that term he had asked to be relieved. It was two years later when he received an answer commanding him to remain. The fact that this command bore the signature of the Queen herself pleased him greatly, but another year's difficulties overbalanced even this proof of royal condescension. Again he prayed for relief and again it was refused. He must stay until another governor could be found to replace him. So from top to bottom of the official organization, from Governor Printz down to the meanest bondsman, discontent and nostalgia prevailed in New Sweden.

There were external troubles, too. The Dutch complained that the Swedes had ruined their trade in furs on the South River by paying higher prices. They retaliated by exacting penalties from the English, who traded with the Swedes in miscellaneous merchandise, and by preventing their own people from supplying the wants of the Swedes. In one respect, however, the Dutch gave much needed help.

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Those pestiferous English at New Haven could not forget nor would they willingly forego the advantages for settlement and trade that the Delaware River shores afforded. The fertility of the soil, the mild climate, the convenience of the navigable streams and the value of the fur trade were constant temptations to intrusion. In the summer of 1649, Governor Eaton proposed, at a meeting of delegates from the United Colonies held in Boston, that effectual measures be immedi-

CHAPTER XXIX

OF THE VOYAGE OF A PLAGUE SHIP

PREPARATIONS began in August on a grand scale. The good ships *Örn*—Eagle—of the royal navy and *Gyllene Haj*—Golden Shark—were selected. Supplies were bought. Colonists to the number of two hundred and fifty, "the greatest part good men, fewer women, and fewest children," were sought. Soldiers, fifty of them, were hired. These people were assembled at Stockholm in increasing numbers from September onward and in November rushed to Gothenburg to embark.

There they were mustered and "their certificates and testimonials examined," so as to exclude "any criminals, malefactors or others who had done any wrong . . . so that God, the Most High, might not let His revenge and punishment afflict the accompanying good people and the ship and goods, with the bad and wicked," so writes Peter Mårtensson Lindeström, a military engineer, who went with this expedition.

Lindeström notes a reversal of the former policy of sending malefactors to the new country, which had prevailed because "no one dared to undertake the long and difficult voyage." Now, he says, "plenty of good people can easily be had, yes, even many more than can be shipped over." At this very time

they had to leave behind "about 100 families, good honest people" for want of room in the ship. Eleven weeks later the selected emigrants were still in Gothenburg.

There had been the usual difficulties and delays, including the late-discovered unseaworthiness of the *Gyllene Haj*, which, after the customary rebuilding and repairs arrived at Gothenburg in mid January "leaky and in bad condition." Her passengers and cargo were crowded into the already full *Örn*, and on February second the expedition started, in a "cracking cold winter and great storm." Johan Rising, secretary of the College of Commerce, was in command. Among other notables were Lieutenant Elias Gyllengren and Captain Sven Skute.

The voyage was typical of those days of leisurely peregrination. Two days after sailing the ship was driven back by head winds and was found to be leaking. Mending the leak "as well as possible," they started again on the sixth day. Storms turned them from their course. On the fourteenth day their captain "was so confused that he, with astonishment, did not know in what region we were, because, on account of the dark and obscure weather," he had been unable to make any observations. To his surprise, he found they were near Calais and there they anchored.

Setting out again they were halted by three English frigates on suspicion that the *Örn* was a Dutch ship. The Swedes were loath to submit to examination and yielded only after their bowsprit had been shot away. Proving their nationality they had to go to Dover to get a passport from the English admiral to go through the Channel.

On the twenty-sixth day of their voyage they put in at Weymouth for fresh water. Then they stopped at what is now Falmouth for two or three days. Here the officers were "mag-

nificently treated and entertained by the local Governor" at a dinner enlivened by toasts. "At each toast the English gave a double salute, which was continued with uninterrupted shooting" until they took leave sometime after midnight.

During their voyage thence across "the Western Ocean" for two weeks and a half, "a terrible and violent storm" prevailed, "so that we could take or observe no elevations, finally not knowing where we were." On March twentieth after dark they anchored off an island, whose inhabitants "discharged their guns and shot at us the whole night." It proved to be one of the Canaries.

Next day the governor visited the *Örn* "with three large yachts and a numerous suite." He treated them well, and, though the populace at first stoned them in the streets, their stay of four or five days was memorable for sumptuous dinners of "a hundred courses," not of "meat, fish, bread" or such common food but of "mere sweetmeats, of the fruits that grow there," served on covered silver platters to the music of trumpets and kettledrums. Memorable it was also for the constancy with which they withstood persistent efforts of monks, "right good drinking brothers, who could do full justice to the cup," and certain "beautiful and charming nuns" to seduce these good Lutherans from their faith.

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On March twenty-sixth they left the Canaries. Two weeks later they were holding "a ship council" to consider their serious condition. They were a miserable ship's company. All sorts of "violent and contagious diseases" had been rife among them during the voyage, "so that there was such lamentation and misery, yes, lamentation above lamentation, so that a person, even if he had a heart of stone would have felt sorrow

and grief on account of the miserable condition." Very many had died. "Frequently, when the roll was called in the morning there would be 3, 6, 8 or 9 corpses, which one after the other would be laid out on board, and after the clergyman had thrown three shovels of ashes on them and performed the ceremony, they were shoved overboard and their grave was dug deep enough for them."

The desperate condition of the emigrants is described in detail by Lindeström. Closely packed together, in "the unnatural heat of the sun," with no change of linen for their verminous bodies, eating "coarse and rotten victuals such as entirely decayed fish: putrid water to drink, that stank like the worst of carrion," none but the most hardy could have survived the horrors of such a voyage.

In the midst of these miseries they sighted three Turkish ships approaching "in a hostile manner." Now there was "misery upon misery with us on our ship among our people," so that "we hardly knew in a hurry what to take hold of to make a resistance against the enemy." The cannon were so covered up with "an enormous amount of trumpery . . . boxes, chests, tubs and all sorts of things," that they were useless. There were, however, two large guns on the lower deck and four small ones on the upper that were clear.

All the sick people were carried on deck. "Even if they were half dead, every man had to go up, and only hold a gun in their hands, if they could do no more; but those who had not enough strength to stand were propped up and supported between two healthy men." All available arms, muskets, clubs, spears, were distributed, and then brandy was served "to strengthen them somewhat." And so this stricken ship manned by half-dead scarecrows made ready for action.

But there was no battle. Two rounds from its lame-duck battery gave the Turk pause, and "when he saw such a large number of men on our ship, and observed that we had so heavy cannon, he did not dare risk an attack. Consequently he set his course back again."

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On April sixteenth they arrived at St. Kitts, where "the English bombarded us merrily, until they obtained information of what nation we were." Then they had permission to land, take in supplies and to regale their people with fresh water, meat and fruits. Two weeks later they ran into a fearful storm that carried away all their sails, "as if they had been cut from the ropes with knives." Even with all the canvas gone, the ship was so "thrown over on the side that the whole length of the masts touched on the waves," and many were lost overboard. All the masts had to be cut away.

With jury-masts under such rags of canvas as they could muster, thinking they were entering New Sweden Bay, they staggered into the Bay of Virginia on the twelfth of May. Another storm overtook them there and again they were stripped of canvas. They ran on a reef that "cracked severely in the ship." Being informed by some Englishmen of their error in geography, they put about and on May twentieth, one hundred and seven days from Gothenburg, they anchored in the Delaware off Fort Elfsborg.

Two days later the survivors of the voyage disembarked at Fort Christina. A hundred out of three hundred and fifty had died. The rest were so "ill on the ship and the smell was so strong that it was impossible to endure it any longer." The very sailors were so weak that "they could not lift up the anchor, nor row the boat without aid from the colonists."

"And thus was (glory be to God)," says Lindeström, "our voyage to that place in West India, [to which] we intended to go, fortunately carried out and finished. . . . The person who cannot pray to God, let him be sent on such a long and dangerous voyage, and he shall surely learn to pray."

So came the *Örn,* the last ship from the fatherland to New Sweden, the last because Rising on his way up the River had indulged in a diversion whose ultimate consequence was the complete and final extinguishment of New Sweden.

sort of cross between a shoe and a moccasin. Leather, either tanned or cured in Indian fashion, was easier to procure and more durable to wear than woollen cloth, so coats made of leather, buckskin or otter skins, and elk-skin breeches were later commonly worn.

Coming from a country where manufacturing was in its infancy, the settlers were used to relying on their own hands and heads to supply their needs. They were, therefore, generally skilled in all kinds of manual arts. The men made their own wooden plows and harrows, rakes and hayforks, their furniture and kitchen equipment, and indeed, practically every implement used on the farm and in the house. The women wove, knitted and sewed and did every sort of household chore. They were a self-reliant, self-sufficient lot of people.

For meat they had venison and fish in plenty, pork from their imported swine that ran wild and prospered in the forests, and beef in increasing quantity as their first few cattle grew in numbers. There were also wild turkeys and other game birds in profusion. They soon learned to use maize and came largely to rely on it for bread baked in Indian style in the ashes. Their vegetables were peas, beans and turnips. Beer was the customary everyday beverage, with brandy for social or festal occasions. From the abundance of wild grapes they made wine.

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During Rising's brief administration they began opening roads between the settlements, doubtless connecting Trefaldighet, Christina and Upland. Before that there were only paths for horsemen and footmen, impassable for wheeled vehicles. Travel by land was laborious and inconvenient. The best highways were the river and its affluent streams. Sailboats, rowboats and canoes made by hollowing logs, after the Indian manner, were their means of transport. For this reason their settlements and plantations were strung along the waterside. The River, which now separates New Jersey from Delaware, then brought its east and west banks into convenient adjacency. It was far easier to sail across it than to travel an equal distance on land.

These Swedish settlers lived hard lives, but they had been used to conditions hardly less difficult in their own country. Indeed, once they had cleared their land of its forest growth, the fertility of this new soil and the friendliness of this new climate made life for them vastly easier than it had been in Sweden.

Ignorant, very largely entirely illiterate, they had no mental need that the society of their own kind could not supply. The amenities of life in more sophisticated communities they did not know and therefore did not desire. When their physical needs were satisfied they were content. To work on their farms six days and to spend most of the seventh listening to sermons and singing hymns, that rounded out the simple programme of a satisfying week. They were, in short, stuff most suitable for pioneering in a wilderness, and most of them soon took root and throve and prospered.

CHAPTER XLII

OF THE TERRIBLE SWEDES

EVEN before Stuyvesant took Casimir and Christina the greater number of the Swedish colonists dwelt on the land north of the Minquas Kill. Casimir had been Dutch in its origin and had during Rising's short régime remained predominantly Dutch. The river shore to the northward of Christina toward Tinicum was fast land, while below toward Casimir it was low and marshy. Desiring to remain close to their principal and only practicable highway, the River, the Swedes and Finns had taken up land in this northern territory. The district between Marcus Hook and Naaman's Creek was called Finland. Then, too, Tinicum had been the seat of government after Printz came and built his house there. There were very few Dutch above Christina. Thus the colony was divided geographically between the two peoples with the Kill as a boundary.

When the River fell into the hands of the Dutch and Rising and his officers and soldiers had been deported, the up-river Swedes found themselves without any government except the remote and alien administration at Casimir, whose arm was neither long enough nor strong enough to govern and protect them, nor was it much interested in their welfare. Its only wish, as to these possibly rebellious citizens, was that they would all move away, its only hope that they would mind their own affairs and not bother the Dutch.

There were "at least two hundred" of these Swedes and Finns "above Fort Christina, two or three leagues further up the river." Their natural leaders were Gregorius van Dyck, Captain Sven Skute and Lieut. Elias Gyllengren, all of them officers of the ancient régime and still trailing their little clouds of official glory. Quite naturally they set up a sort of extra-legal system of self-government with military and civil functionaries. Sven Skute was made captain, Anders Dalbo lieutenant and Jacob Swensson ensign. Olof Stille, Matts Hansson, Peter Rambo and Peter Cock were magistrates, Gregorius van Dyck sheriff. Gyllengren was without office but was doubtless unofficially influential. Whether these were all in office before the visit of Stuyvesant to the River in 1658 does not appear. Nor does it appear on what legal basis, if any, the magistrates functioned. The only apparently legally established court was that which the Dutch held.

By that time, however, this separate judicial system seems to have obtained some recognition, for the Swedish magistrates petitioned Stuyvesant for "proper instructions to perform equitably the duties" entrusted to them and, "for their execution," the appointment of a "court-messenger," a sort of deputy *schout-fiscal* or sheriff to serve writs. They also asked for "free access to the Commander at Fort Altena," which was the new name for Christina, "to get assistance from the soldiers in cases of emergency," all of which prayers the Director-General granted. He also noted without disapproval in his report to his Council the names and titles of the three

or farms, stocked with two hundred neat cattle, twenty horses, eighty sheep and thousands of swine. Besides the profits from their agriculture, there was some addition to their wealth from trading with the Indians for furs. Their remoteness from their Dutch overlords and the sympathy of their own officials gave them good opportunity for this illicit commerce. They were prosperous, well rooted in this new land and well pleased with it. Though some of them, displaying the nomadic traits of their Finnish ancestors, drifted down into Maryland, or fled to that Province to escape the tyrannies of the Dutch governor and the disasters that befell the colony, most of them spread slowly, by natural expansion, over the near-by country and established themselves there permanently.

As a rule they gave little trouble to the courts, either their own or those of the Dutch. There were, of course, occasional individual eruptions. One Evert or Ivor Hindricksson, known as "Ivor, the Finn," was a rather tough specimen.

He was charged in the court at Altena with having villainously beaten pious Jorian Kyn, a man who had "never irritated a child," and with having threatened to shoot him with a gun and to cut off his head with a knife. His defense was that Kyn's hogs had trespassed on his land and that he pointed the gun not at Kyn, but at the hogs. At the trial witnesses testified that Ivor was a desperado, "guilty of great insolence . . . by making noise, shooting and other disorderly acts," that he had driven people from their homes, thrown stones at the barber-surgeon, Stidden, threatened this one, assaulted that one and that he was suspected of having made love to his neighbor's wife. A punishment to fit such a combination of crimes seemed to be beyond the invention of the court. Bad man Ivor was sent to the Director-General and Council for their judgment.

Keen

There were a few other disorderly persons, among them Dominie Lars Lock, whose adventures have been already recorded, but the generality of the Swedes and Finns were peaceable citizens.

* * * * *

Johan Papegoja had returned to Sweden after the departure of the *Mercurius*, but his wife had remained in America. She seems to have inherited many of the colorful characteristics of her father, the great Johan Printz, and her decision to stay behind when her husband went back to Sweden had, perhaps, not been unpleasing to him. Nor, possibly, was his departure a source of much grief to her. At all events she resumed her maiden surname and called herself Armegot Printz. She was a conspicuous figure in the colony and one long remembered. A hundred years after Madam Papegoja left America, Acrelius wrote of her, "They still tell of the lady at Tenacong, how haughty she was, and how she oppressed the poor when she was in prosperity."

After the Dutch took the River, she petitioned Stuyvesant for leave to hold the land at Tinicum which had been given to her father, and her prayer was granted. Twenty-three years later Jaspar Dankars and Peter Sluyter, two Dutchmen who were looking for a place for the Labidist colony which afterwards was established at Bohemia Manor, visited Tinicum. They describe it as an island separated from the mainland by a small creek, "as wide as a large ditch." It was about two miles long and a mile and a half wide. Only the southwest point was cultivated, and that was "barren, scraggy and sandy, growing plenty of wild onions, a weed not easily eradicated." There were on it three or four houses, a little log church, the remains of a large block-house and the ruins of some log huts

There were no religious persecutions in the Delaware colonies under the Swedes and Dutch. Whether this freedom from outbreaks of intolerance was due to the liberality that consciously countenances variances of opinion or to the fact that each nation kept pretty much to itself and that the dominant faction never sufficiently outnumbered the other may be a question. There was no intrusion of other sects to test the tolerance of either Swedes or Dutch during their respective periods of control.

One stray English Quaker, a certain "Captain Voeler"—whose name in his own tongue was probably Wheeler—came to Altena in 1661. He was a refugee from Maryland. Beeckman was much concerned about him. He showed "not the least respect" to the Director. He was aware of his defect of manners, but said "his conscience did not allow it." "Whereupon I answered," says Beeckman, "that our conscience could not tolerate such a persuasion or sect. If he keeps still and no more followers of that sort shall arrive I shall tolerate him . . . but in case of increase I shall make him leave our jurisdiction, pursuant to the praiseworthy orders made by your Honorable Worships," the Director and Council at New Amsterdam. Lutherans and Calvinists might tolerate each other, but Quakers and such were outside the rules.

That is to say, if a few of them came right into the colony. If they came in sufficient numbers to settle and aid in developing the outlying parts, it might be different. There was the case of Pieter Plockhoy. He was a Mennonist and hence very much a schismatic. Also, these followers of Simons Menno, in most of their peculiarities, were hardly to be distinguished from Quakers. But, when Plockhoy offered to bring over a colony of twenty-five men, married and single, and settle them at the Horekill, there was no trouble at all about it. The Burgomasters consented at once, furnished transportation and lent them twenty-five hundred guilders.

Plockhoy had an elaborate plan for the government of his colony. It was to begin as a sort of commune, but after five years there was to be a division of the land and personal property, and, thenceforth, the rights of private ownership were to be observed. Seeking religious freedom, they would not deny it to others and it was proposed freely to admit to membership sectarians of other sorts—with some exceptions. Of course there had to be reasonable exceptions. Naturally, they must exclude "all intractable people, such as those in communion with the Roman see, usurious Jews, English stiff-necked Quakers, foolhardy believers in the millennium and obstinate pretenders to revelation." Some people are simply impossible.

There was one other restriction. "For the maintenance of peace and concord," all clergymen were barred out. The Mennonists preferred to rely on the Bible, "the most peaceable and economical of all preachers."

They came over in the ship *St. Jacob* in the summer of 1663 and settled at the Horekill. After that nothing is to be heard of them.

74,986

The DELAWARE FINNS

OR

THE FIRST PERMANENT SETTLEMENTS IN PENNSYLVANIA, DELAWARE, WEST NEW JERSEY AND EASTERN PART OF MARYLAND

BY

E. A. LOUHI

NEW YORK
THE HUMANITY PRESS
PUBLISHERS

1925

or to be put in irons and to work in our or crown's castles and estates. If they allow to be prevailed upon to go to New Sweden, then you may correspond about it with our Lord Mayer Klaus Fleming and wait for information from him, when and to what place they will be taken to board a ship for New Sweden. We graciously do not require your answer."

The ship Charitas left Stockholm for Gothenburg on May 3, 1641, having on board eight hired soldiers, two soldier prisoners and two misdemeanants who were sent for punishment, and twenty-three others, among which were some hired servants for the company, a nobleman and a priest who both took a trip to the colony for adventure, and several other adventurers, besides few regular colonists. But in Gothenburg, where the ship Kalmar Nyckel was prepared for the voyage, were gathered the imprisoned and many other Finns with their families, who all were born pioneers and colonists. Both of the ships left Gothenburg in July 1641. The officers on the ships and for the trading post were Dutch, with one exception and the majority of the soldiers and some of the sailors were Swedes and Finns. The actual colonists were nearly all Finns, most of whom had their families with them. Among the Finns that arrived to the Delaware River with this expedition were:

Anders Andersson, involuntary emigrant, served the company until 1648, then became freeman. Had a farm in the neighborhood of Finland. Has numerous descendants in Pennsylvania.

Mans Andersson, was employed as servant for the company until 1648, thereafter became freeman and began a farm at Finland which the company in 1654 acquired.

Anders Hansson, hired as soldier by Kling, began later farm at Finland.

Matts Hansson, brother of the former, was hired as constable (gunner), brought his wife with him to the colony. Became freeman in 1646. Was one of the commissaries of the Finnish colony during the Dutch rule.

Matts Hansson, from Admiral Fleming's family estate near the town of Porvoo, Finland. Was sent as punishment for the colony and in 1653 received permission to return home.

Israel Helme, involuntary emigrant, from Mora, Central Sweden. Brought his family with him. During the Dutch rule he became a prominent business man and was one of the most influential men in the Finnish colony and on the Delaware River before the establishment of William Penn's colony.

Ivar Hendricksson (also spelled Ivert and Evert), was hired as soldier by Kling. In the colony he was later known as a turbulent fellow. Had a farm first time at Finland and later at Crane Hook, where he was captain of the Finnish militia during the rule of the Duke of York.

Karl Johansson, bookkeeper from Kakisalmi, a town on the Lake Ladoga, in Finland. Was sent for punishment for some misdemeanor. Worked in the colony as commissary of provisions and auditor of accounts. Returned to Finland in 1648.

Clement Joransson, sent for burnbeating. Was planting tobacco at Upland in 1644. Served also as a soldier and later became freeman.

Jons Pafvelsson, sent for burnbeating. Died on July 9, 1643, at Upland.

Mans Jurrensson (also Joransson), involuntary emigrant. Worked as laborer and later became freeman.

Peter Larsson Cock (Kock), involuntary emigrant. Was held in Smedjegard prison at Stockholm waiting for the sailing of the ship Charitas. Planting tobacco at the Schuylkill River in 1644. Later became freeman. Married Margaret Helme, daughter of Israel Helme. Peter Cock became one of the leaders in the Finnish colony after the downfall of the Swedish rule and was the most influential man on the Delaware River at the arrival of William Penn. He had six sons and six daughters and his family had branched in 1693 into forty-seven persons, bearing the name of Cock, besides the children of her daughters. Peter Cock died in 1688, in great prosperity. His descendants bear mostly the name of Cox.

Eskil Larsson, involuntary emigrant. Had been condemned to serve in the army and his property confiscated for burnbeating.

On February 8, 1641, the government again wrote to Governor Leijonhufvud ordering him, in case he could not prevail upon people to go to New Sweden, to capture all the "forest destroying" Finns found in his district, about whom he had made complaints. They were to be kept in readiness for the sailing of the ship.

In the spring of 1641, Kling was again sent out to gather soldiers and servants and he hired fourteen men, many of which were Finns.

Johan Printz, who later was appointed as governor of New Sweden was likewise requested to look for skilled workmen and young people in Finland, who would be willing to go to America. Johan Printz had acquaintances in Finland, as in the Polish war in 1625, and in the ensuing campaigns he had become identified with the Finnish cavalry. When Sweden entered to the Thirty Years' War in 1630, Printz was appointed as captain in the Finnish cavalry regiment of the province of Pohjanmaa (Osterbotten), Finland. After the death of king Gustavus Adolphus, Printz retired from the army for a while and rented a government land estate, Korsholm, in the province of Pohjanmaa. In 1634 he was in trouble with his Finnish peasant neighbors of Mustasaari, but before that had been advanced to the rank of major in the Pohjanmaa regiment and had again a short visit to the scene of war in Central Europe. In 1638, Printz was again back in the province of Pohjanmaa, recruiting men to his regiment. During the latter year he was appointed as lieutenant-colonel in the Swedish West Gothland regiment and in April 1640 was forced to capitulate the city of Chemnitz in Germany to the Papist forces, whereafter he without leave went to Sweden and became expelled from the army, although freed of further punishment. A letter of Printz to Chancellor Oxenstierna, from Korsholm, in the province of Pohjanmaa, in the winter of 1641, reveals that he was there recruiting emigrants for the Delaware colony among the people at that province who were known of being capable carpenters, shipbuilders, blacksmiths, farmers and sailors. The recruiting of Printz in the province of Pohjanmaa did not have great results immediately, but from this province came to the Delaware colony such colonists as Knut Martinson, Marten Martinsson, Hindrich Jacobson, Jacob Clemetsson, Matz Erichsson, Hendrich Larsson, Martin Thomasson, Brita Mattson and her husband Petter Gunnarsson Rambo, who already was in the colony. With this expedition came from Southern Finland, Karl Johnsson from the town of Käkisalmi (Kexholm) and Mats Hansson from Admiral Fleming's family estate near the town of Porvoo (Borgo). Both of these latter once were sent for punishment of some misdemeanor. One immigrant Mickel Jonsson came from Reval, Esthonia.

Emigrants who would voluntarily depart for the colony were still hard to be secured. On April 13, 1641, the government wrote to Governor Carl Siggesson of the province of Skaraborg to allow a trooper, Hans Mansson, who had destroyed some fruit trees at the royal estate of Warnhem, to choose being hanged or to go to New Sweden with his wife and children. He was to be allowed to return home after six years. The sentence was to be kept secret from the public until executed.

On April 16, 1641, a royal letter was sent to Governor Olof Stake of Vermland and Dal, in which it is said, "We can understand of your humble letter, Mr. Governor, how you have according to our order made your best to prevail upon the forest destroyers and Finns who are in your province, that they would go voluntarily with their wives and children to New Sweden. And as the same Finns now have moved to Norway and but occasionally visit in your province and also are uncertain to secure, you have, subject to our further orders let a multiude of them be captured and to be taken to Carlstad prison, and you humbly ask us what to do with them.

In gracious answer it delights us that you have been busy to get such destructive and forest destroying Finns and drifters alive. And we graciously order you that if the same who have been so captured would not go to New Sweden, you detain them to secure dependable bondsmen to guarantee that they would take up abandoned farms or new homesteads and use them as law provides. But if they cannot secure dependable bondsmen, then there is no other way but they have to go either to New Sweden

son on August 7, and on the following day Olof Stake, governor of Vermland and Dal, to capture any such soldiers that were found in their districts and send them immediately to Gothenburg to be in readiness for departure.

In the letter to Governor Stake, the royal government says that, "The company's ship, which in June, last, returned from New Sweden to Gothenburg, shall again immediately go back there, and we have deemed it advisable to permit the married soldiers and others who from your province as well as from the province of Elfsborg without delay can be gathered, who have either deserted or otherwise forfeited their lives, to be sent on the ship to New Sweden with their wives and children. For this we present them with their lives as well as give to each soldier a suit and ten dollars in copper. Therefore if any such offenders are found in Vermland and in a hurry can be gathered such a way that no tumult will arise, we graciously order you that you at once let them be captured and immediately, without delay to be sent, well guarded, with their wives and children to Gothenburg. Correspond without neglect about the matter with Governor Johan Hindricksson, to whom we have likewise written. The offenders who have well deserved their punishment, must be made known by you that in return of this voyage we have permitted them to keep their lives and that they will be pardoned and be free to return to their homes after one or two years, if they do not desire to stay longer in New Sweden. As there is no doubt that such a journey shall cause among the wives and children, who are innocent for their men's crimes, a great crying, and lamentation among their friends and relatives, so you must the most carefully and with discretion handle this case, and while you use the power of your office, you shall try to prevail upon them with gentle and good manner for this journey, so that no new tumult and riot will rise for us in that district."

The ship Kalmar Nyckel left Gothenburg for the colony in the beginning of September 1639, having on board Joost van Langdonk, a Dutchman who was sent out as factor, and Peter Hollander Ridder, another Dutchman, who had lived some time

in Finland, was sent as commander of the colony on the Delaware. In the North Sea the ship sprang a leak and had to be taken to Medemblik, Holland, for repairs. After they had gone to the sea, they soon found the ship leaking again and were compelled to return. The ship had to be unloaded and new repairs were made. A second time they left the harbor, but before long the ship was leaking as before and had to be taken to Amsterdam for new repairs. The company's agents in Amsterdam found that the captain had charged the company for goods that were not found on board. He had to be removed from service and Pouwel Jansen was engaged in his place. New sailors also had to be hired as the old sailors refused to go neither with the ship nor the captain. On December 27, the ship was ready to sail, but a great storm swept over the coast and she was prevented to leave until February 7, 1640. The skipper and factor were accused by Gregorius van Dyck, a Dutchman who also went to the colony, in his letter to Admiral Fleming on May 23, 1640, of having spent their time on the voyage in smoking and drinking and damning the Swedes. They hated especially the Swedish priest the Rev. Reorus Torkillus and refused the pastor a little drink of fire water when he was feeling bad, although there were barrels of liquor on board. The journey was rather rough and many people were sick, but the ship arrived safely in the colony on the seventeenth of April, 1640. About the middle of May she set sail for the return voyage, with a large cargo of skins, and arrived happily to Gothenburg about the beginning of July. Several soldiers and people returned with her from the colony, among them Henrick Huygen the factor and Mans Kling the only Swedish officer in the colony.

The future of the commercial venture did not look very bright, the expeditions had brought a considerable deficit, as the expenses of the expeditions for the long delays and many mishaps on the sea had risen very high. The Dutch stockholders became dissatisfied and wanted to withdraw from the company, but the Swedish government was desirous to continue the enterprise and decided in February 1641 to buy out the Dutch stockholders.

been founded on the basis that was going to be the foundation of American civilization, and of all civilizations in the past, today and forever.

CHAPTER VI.

The Fourth and the Fifth Expedition.

More Finnish Colonists Brought to America.

EARLY in 1642, preparations were begun for a new expedition, and the government assumed all the expenses connected with the journeys, except the board and salary of the company's servants and the voyage of the colonists. The colonists were required to pay a fare for their voyage, by working for the company in the colony. Later on this fare was fixed to be 16 riksdalers a head, or about equal to 144 American dollars of present day money value. For a man with a big family it took years to work this out, while starting a farm and supporting his family.

As the New Sweden colony had become mostly a Finnish settlement, John Printz, who had lived many years in Finland and had belonged to the Finnish cavalry in the wars and therefore was acquainted with the language and manners of the Finns, was requested in the spring of 1642 to become the governor of the colony on the Delaware. This he accepted and was commissioned accordingly on the fifteenth of August 1642.

Goods and provisions for an expedition had been again bought in Holland by the Swedish agents and new efforts were made to secure colonists, as Ridder, the governor in the colony had made earnest requests for more people to secure the land against the attempts of the English to settle there. An agent was therefore sent to the Finnish settlements in Vermland in June to hire laborers. Letters were also written to several governors asking them to prevail upon people to emigrate with their families to the colony, but few were willing to go and force again had to be employed.

that the Dutch be allowed to dwell undisturbed in possession of the land below Christina River and that the past troubles be forgotten and forgiven. The Swedes were to remain in possession of all the land north of the fort along the Delaware, the country being large enough for both of them.

Governor Rising was greatly surprised at this kind of proposition. A descendant of Vikings, whose traditions were to take theirs by force, could not apprehend benefits derived of mutual understanding. His answer to the Dutch governor was that the proposition seemed somewhat strange to him, but requested Stuyvesant to present the offer in writing, and a reply would be given as soon as the Swedish council had considered the matter. The matter was taken up on the following day and the unanimous opinion of the Swedish council was, that Stuyvesant's proposition was unacceptable, whereupon the Dutch governor was notified to that effect. Arrangements were therefore made by the Dutch to carry out the articles of surrender, and preparations were started for the departure of the Swedes for New Amsterdam. As nearly all the freemen were Finns, only few of the actual colonists desired to go back to Sweden. Those Swedes who were obliged to remain to sell their property were given a letter of excuse or permission by Rising. Several of these are found today in the royal archives at Stockholm, one reads as follows:

"His Royal Majesty, my Most Gracious King's most humble and faithful servant and Director of New Sweden:

"Hereby witnesseth, that inasmuch as the upright and intelligent Nils Matsson, freeman, of Herring Island, in the troubles of these times here in New Sweden, wherein we Swedes have been unexpectedly involved by the hostility of the Hollanders, cannot remove from this country so hastily, but on account of his property must remain here until more convenient season, and therefore desires a testimonial from me which I cannot justly withhold from him; I therefore herewith testify that during the whole period of my residence in this country, he has conducted himself as an honorable and faithful subject of the Crown, and willingly assisted in the repairs and building of the fort, as well as in other service of the Crown, and now lately in the war for the defense of the country voluntarily went down to Fort Trinity, but was taken prisoner on the way and conveyed on shipboard where, during the space of three weeks, he encountered much contumely and reproach. (Meanwhile the enemy robbing his house and stripping his wife of everything at their home.) Through all this he conducted himself as a good subject ought to do. The truth of all this I confirm with my own hand and seal.

"Done at Fort Christina, September 24, 1655.

Johan Rising."

On September 24, a court martial was held by Rising on the Timber Island, at which examinations were made into the conduct of Commander Schute, who was blamed for not giving orders to fire on the Dutch ships as they passed Fort Trinity. The commander was accused by Rising of disobeying orders and other grave charges were made against him, namely, that he had persuaded two Swedes to stay in the colony. During the examination it was brought out that a great part of the soldiers were mutinous and refused to fight. In the circumstances Schute did not think of going to Sweden to be court martialed, but remained in the colony with the Finns.

The baggage of the Swedes were now loaded on the Dutch ships and on the first day of October the vessels set sail for New Amsterdam, where they arrived nine days later. The Swedes were held on board the warship Waag and Rising was sending bitter notes to Stuyvesant about the occupation of the Delaware River and on matters connected with it. He requested in all justice that the troops should not be influenced to remain in New Amsterdam, but according to the capitulation they should go with him in the same ship. The Finnish soldiers of the garrison of Fort Trinity were accused in court martial on the Timber Island on September 24, for refusing to fight the Dutch. Stuyvesant persuaded them to stay in New Amsterdam and naturally they did so. Finally there were thirty-seven people left in Rising's party, who were placed on board three vessels and on October 23, they left for the old country.

Johan Papegoja who had charge of the colonists during the voyage, hired a Swedish speaking Finn Hendrick Olsson as his assistant as he could not speak Finnish and the colonists who came mostly from the Finnish settlements in Vermland knew no Swedish.

Admiral Anckarhjelm in his list of 110 colonists, including the servants, made on October 17, 1655, gives also the names of the colonists, but five of those who already had been admitted had to be left out on account of limited space in the ship, as warnings had arrived from Stockholm not to crowd the ship. More than a hundred prospective Finnish colonists had to be left behind, who had sold their property at any price and traveled a long distance in the hopes of getting passage to America. Papegoja writes that there was a great lamentation and weeping among them.

The roll list of the colonists made by Admiral Anckarhjelm is interesting on account of the Finns not knowing the Swedish language, still every one of them had a Swedish name. This is because the Finnish names were difficult to the Swedes to spell, they used to make their family names out of their fathers' Christian names by adding "son." Thus, if the father's name of Anders Halttunen was Matti, then Anders Halttunen became Anders Matson. During the Swedish rule in Finland most of the population thus received Swedish names and have remained so to the very present times, only during the last twenty-five years the Finns had started to prefer Finnish names and there has been a movement to discard the Swedish names, as many as hundred thousand Swedish names have thus been legally changed into Finnish names within one year.

The passenger list of Admiral Anckarhjelm reads:

"The Roll List of the Colonists, about to go to New Sweden, who have been examined and written down to the seventeenth of October 1655.

"From Frijisdalen (Fryksdal in Vermland).	
Johan Grelson with wife and three children	5
Martin Pafvelsson with wife only	2
Nils Nilsson with wife and four children	6
Anders Larsson with wife and five children	7
Mats Matsson with wife and one child	3
Olof Olofsson, a servant	1
Gerdrud, a servant	1
Joen Staffeson, the blacksmith	1
Karin Andersdotter, a widow with one child	2
Marcus Sigfriedhsson, a servant	1
Joran Joransson, a servant	1
Nils Simonsson with wife and three children	5
Joran Sigfriedsson with wife	2
Hindrick Jacobsson with four almost grown sons	5
Grels Grelsson, a servant	1
Eric Matsson, a servant	1
Lars Larsson, a servant	1
Olof Clemetsson, a servant	1
Jons Hindricksson, a servant	1
Elissabeth Esekelsdotter, a servant	1
Oluf Olufsson, a servant	1
From Lijtestegen (Letstigen, Vermland)	
Thomas Jacobsson with wife, maid-servant and three children	6
Pafvell Persson with wife, maid-servant and three children	6
Oluf Philipson with wife and five children	7
Pavel Nilson with wife and two children	4
Oluf Nilson with wife only	2
Lars Bengtsson with wife, man-servant and four children	7
Jons Jonson with wife and six children	8
Carol Jonson with wife, maid-servant and three children	6
Eric Martensson with wife and two children	4
Johan Simonsson with wife and three children	5
From Brunskogh (Brunskog in Vermland)	
Anders Jacobsson with wife, maid-servant and three children	6
	110"

as in Wiccaco, Passayunk and Kingsessing, had their nearest church in the Tinicum Island, it was therefore ordered that the magistrates of Upland, do cause a church to be built at Wiccaco to the convenience of inhabitants living in Passayunk and upwards. The said court being empowered to raise a tax for the building of the church and to agree upon a competent maintenance for their minister, of all which they are to give an account to the next General Court, and they to the governor for his approbation. The church at Tinicum Island was to serve for Upland and parts adjacent. And the Crane Hook church to continue as before. The church at New Castle was to be regulated by the court in as orderly and decent manner as may be.

Thus the Finns were to have three churches, the New Castle church was then considered as a Dutch Reformed Church, which had been dominant during the second period of the Dutch rule, while the Lutheran teaching was suppressed.

The business of Highways being taken into consideration, it was ordered, that some convenient way be made passable between town and town at the river. The manner of doing it, to be ordered by the several courts in their respective areas, and likewise the charges, within three months.

A prohibition was enacted against the selling of liquors to the Indians in small quantities. No less than two gallons to be sold. Governor Carteret of New Jersey promised to give similiar order in his territory. The distillation of corn and grain was prohibited in the river. A ferry boat was to be built and maintained at the Falls (Trenton), to be stationed on the west side of the river. Lastly it was decided that the next General Court shall begin the second Tuesday in May next, unless called upon extraordinary occasion.

On May 17th Governor Andros and his party were home bound and stopped on the way at Peter Rambo's plantation in Passayunk, where a court was held. Present in the court were the governor, the Finnish magistrates Peter Cock, Peter Rambo, Israel Helme and Lars Andersson (Lasse the Finn), the sheriff Captain Cantwell and Messrs. Gab. Minvielle and Richard Cornell

of New York. The matter under consideration was the "scandalous business" of Captain James Sandyland and Laurens Holst. It was ordered that James Sandyland pay for fine the sum of 300 guilders and Laurens Holst 200 guilders. One-half of the fines was to go towards the building of the new Finnish church at Wiccaco and the other half to be collected by the sheriff in the name of the king, (actually to the Duke of York). Mr. James Sandyland or Sanderlin was also impeached of his office as captain of the Finnish Militia of Upland, and the lieutenant of the same company Hans Jurriaen or Yrjanen was promoted captain, John Prince was made lieutenant and Jonas Keen or Kyyn was made the ensign.

The provisions made for the division of parishes in the General Court at New Castle on May 13, 1675, did not satisfy the Dutch members of the churches of New Castle and the Crane Hook, as on the first day of June they address to Governor Andros the following letter, in which they profess to be Lutherans.

"To the Noble, Right Honorable, Major Edmond Andros, Governor General of all his Royal Highness, James, Duke of York and Albany, etc., territories in America."

"Show with all reverence the subscribed petitioners, the community of the unchangeable Augsburg Confession, called the Lutheran, which has its residence on the Southriver, that after the petitioners had addressed an humble petition to the Right Honorable Governor on the 13th of May Anno 1675, together with a document, drawn up in Council at New Castle on the 10th of December 1672, and presented by petitioners' minister, whereby they divided the river into two parishes, so that all above Verdritige Hook is and shall remain under the pastorate of Mr. Lars (Laurentius Lokenius) and all below Verdritige Hook under the pastorate of Magister Jacobus Fabricius, and requested and asked with due humility, that your Noble Honor would please to confirm the action and the division for the sake of God's glory and good order, the petitioners expected hereupon a favorable answer and decision and had hoped to receive the same through Captain Ed. Cantwell, but as the speedy journey and many troubles have

court at this time there were disputes about tracts that formerly were not cared about. In this court Lasse Dalbo claimed a piece of land on the Schuylkill, which was occupied by Sven Loom. The defendant replied that he has had the first grant and survey and has paid the quit-rent for the land. The plaintiff desired the case settled by a jury which was granted and the jury bringing in their verdict in favor of the defendant the court passed judgment accordingly.

The president of the court, Otto Ernest Cock, acquainted the court, that he had bought and paid, of the Indian proprietors a certain swampy or marshy island, called by the Indians Quistconck, (the present Hog Island), lying at the upper end of Tinicum Island in the river, opposite Andreas Boone's Creek; and desired the court's approbation. The court having well informed themselves about the premises, did approve the same.

A petition was presented to the court by the Rev. Jacobus Fabricius, upon which the court ordered that the church wardens of the petitioner's church do take care that everyone of those who have signed and promised towards the minister's maintenance, do pay him the sums promised, upon pain of execution against the defaulters.

Upon complaint made by the overseers of the highways, the court condemned John Champion to pay a fine of twenty-five guilders, for not working upon the highway when due warning had been given to him.

William Warner and William Orian presented a request to the court, upon which it was ordered that the several people who hold lands, of the tract which the petitioners had bought from the Indians on the Schuylkill River, everyone to repay to the petitioners proportionable to the quantity of land they hold there. The whole purchasing price being 335 guilders and the following persons were holding parts of the land: Andreas Inckoren 200 acres. Andreas Homman 200 acres, Pelle Larsson 100 acres, Peter Erickson 200 acres, William Warner 100 acres, William Orian 100 acres, John Boyles and John Schoeten 400 acres and Swen Loom 300 acres.

Upon petition the court granted lands to the following persons: Reinier Petersen 200 acres, Andries Boon 200 acres, William Warner Senior 400 acres, Richard Tucker 100 acres, Otto Ernest Cock 400 acres, Lionel Brittain and Jan Classen 200 acres.

William Boyles, the Upland County constable at the Delaware Falls, complained to the court that Gilbert Wheeler, at the said falls, is selling liquors by retail to the Indians, contrary to the law and forewarning of the said constable. The said information was ratified by Justice George Brown, upon which the court condemned the said Gilbert Wheeler to pay four pounds and costs as fine for his trespass, according to law of the government.

The court appointed and authorized William Boyles to be surveyor and overseer of the highways from the falls to Poetquessing creek. He was to take care that the highways be made good and passable, with bridges over all marshy places. The work upon the highways was to be performed between this and the next court and all the inhabitants living within the above said area were ordered to be ready to work and to complete a certain highway upon due notice by the overseer. The unwilling to be fined according to former order and practice.

The court adjourned till the second Tuesday of September next, but it never met any more. Here ends the local government of the Finns in the country today known as the State of Pennsylvania. The government had been managed by the Finnish magistrates with such fairness and orderliness that there is no equal in example among the early American colonies.

About ten days after the above court day, in June 1681, Deputy-Governor Markham arrived to take charge of the Province of Pennsylvania and Lieutenant Anthony Brockholls of New York issued the following proclamation, releasing the justices and other officers who fell within the new province, from their allegiance to the Duke of York.

"Whereas his majesty hath been graciously pleased, by his letters-patent bearing date 4th March last, to give and grant to William Penn, Esquire, all the tract of land in America, now called by the name of Pennsylvania, formerly under the protection and

Lastly Penn leaves the town plan to the commissaries as they will find the situation.

The following letter was sent by Penn with the commissaries to the Indians:

"London, 18th of October, 1681.

"My friends—There is one great God and power that hath made the world and all things therein, to whom you and I, and all people owe their being and well-being, and to whom you and I must one day give an account for all that we do in the world; this great God hath written his law in our hearts, by which we are taught and commanded to love and help, and do good to one another, and not to do harm and mischief one to another. Now this great God hath been pleased to make me concerned in your parts of the world, and the king of the country where I live hath given unto me a great province, but I desire to enjoy it with your love and consent, that we may always live together as neighbors and friends, else what would the great God say to us, who hath made us not to devour and destroy one another, but live soberly and kindly together in the world? Now I would have you well observe, that I am very sensible of the unkindness and injustice that hath been too much exercised towards you by the people of these parts of the world, who sought themselves, and make great advantages by you, rather than be examples of justice and goodness unto you, which I hear hath been matter of trouble to you, and caused great grudgings and animosities, sometimes to the shedding of blood, which hath made the great God angry; but I am not such a man, as is well known in my own country; I have great love and regards towards you, and I desire to win and gain your love and friendship, by a kind, just, and peaceable life, and the people I send are of the same mind, and shall in all things behave themselves accordingly; and if in anything any shall offend you or your people, you shall have a full and speedy satisfaction for the same, by an equal number of just men on both sides, that by no means you may have just occasion of being offended against them I shall shortly come to you myself, at what time we may more largely and freely confer and discourse of these matters. In the meantime, I have sent my commissioners to treat with you about land, and a firm league of peace. Let me desire you to be kind to them and the people, and receive these presents and tokens which I have sent to you, as a testimony of my good will to you, and my resolution to live justly, peaceably, and friendly with you.

"I am your loving friend,

"William Penn."

The commissioners were given to bring over a letter of recommendation to the Finns from Liembergh, the Swedish ambassador in London, written in the "Norse" language, as Penn says, and to be delivered by Deputy-Governor Markham to the Rev. Fabricius, for publication among the people.

In the meantime the Indians presented in Upland the following petition to the Governor and Council of Pennsylvania:

"Whereas, the selling of strong liquors was prohibited in Pennsylvania and not at New Castle, we find it a greater ill-convenience than before, our Indians going down to New Castle, and there buying rum, and making themselves more debauched than before.

"Therefore we, whose names are hereunder written, do desire that the prohibition may be taken off, and rum and strong liquors may be sold as formerly, until it be prohibited in New Castle, and in that government in Delaware.

"Pesienk (Passayunk) in Pennsylvania, 8th October, 1681."

On November 30th, the second court of the Province of Pennsylvania was held at Upland. Present were Governor William Markham and twelve justices of which seven were Englishmen and five of the old inhabitants, viz., Otto Ernest Cock, Lasse Cock, Swen Swenson, Andreas Bankson and Hendrick Bankson. Among the jurors were John Cock, Erik Cock, Mons Peterson and Peter Joakum.

The third court of the new province was held on March 4, 1682, in which nine overseers of highways were appointed, having their specified districts from Marcus Creek to the neighborhood of the Delaware Falls and along the Schuylkill. They were selected mostly from the older inhabitants, among which was Andreas Rambo, son of Peter Rambo, Senior.

being less adapted for agriculture and being covered with heavy pine forest. Two hundred and fifty acres of this shore was granted on Tuesday the 13th of November, 1677, to Justice Peter Rambo, by the Upland Court and at the same court on March 13th, 1679, Rambo claimed the land upon the grant, but Justice Oele Swensson and his brothers Swen and Andreas pleaded that the same land was within the bounds of their patent of the Wicaco tract, which was granted to them and their father Swen Gunnarrson by Governor Stuyvesant on May 5, 1664, and confirmed to them by Governor Lovelace on May 3, 1669. The court decided in favor of the Swensons.

However was the statute of this land, Richard Noble, Surveyor of the Upland County, upon warrant of the Upland Court, surveyed the shore land between Wicaco and Cooconocon Creek (Pegg's Run), on June 21, 1681, to the Swensons or Swansons, as they are hereafter referred to. This tract contained 345 acres and was an addition to their former land, called Wicaco, which contained 800 acres.

It was the custom on the Delaware that with each grant of land a proportionate amount of pasture land was assigned besides the land described in the patent. In some patents the area of the pasture land was given in acres, but was free from the quit-rent. This explains why the Swanson brothers claimed the Coaquannock although it was not mentioned in their patent. In order to make their ownership certain they got the land surveyed for them, but were too late to receive a patent upon the tract from the Duke of York, as the Province of Pennsylvania was transferred by Lieutenant Brockholls to William Penn on the same day as Richard Noble made the survey. This undoubtedly had much to do with the decision of Markham and the commissaries to locate the town of Philadelphia on that site.

When the location of Philadelphia was decided is not recorded, but it was known in London in July, 1682, as James Claypoole, treasurer of the Free Society of Traders, writes to his brother on the 14th of that month that "I have 100 acres where our capital city is to be, upon the river near Schuylkill and Peter Cock; there I intend to plant and build my first house."

The first purchase of land in Pennsylvania made in the name of William Penn from the Indians was that of the territory on the west side of Delaware River between the Neshaminy and Towsissink creeks. The deed was signed on July 15, 1682, Lasse Cock acting as interpreter. The site of Philadelphia was not purchased from the Indians, it had long belonged to the Finns as commonage, and the Swanson brothers were later given for their Coaquannock tract nearly twice as much land further inland by William Penn. Some amendments, or rather explanations and amplifications were made in the first land purchase of William Penn from the Indians on the following first day of August. The document says that it was made "at the house of Captain Lasse Cock," who was the only white witness in the deal, and the interpreter in all of the early transactions between Deputy-Governor Markham and William Penn with the Indians.

On August 24, 1682, the Duke of York transferred the rest of his territory on the west side of the Delaware River, from twelve miles above New Castle to Cape Henlopen, for William Penn. All the Finns and other old settlers, on the west side of the river now fell under the same government.

Having arranged his affairs in England, William Penn with about one hundred Quaker colonists left for Pennsylvania about the first day of September, 1682. Numerous English immigrants had already arrived to the province and all the houses of the early colonists were filled by the new arrivals. In the autumn of 1682, lots were drawn for the immigrants in Philadelphia and the building of houses had already started, but none was ready on the arrival of Penn. The first residences for the Englishmen in Philadelphia were caves dug into the river bank, some of which had been left there by the Indians.

William Penn, with his diminished party of immigrants, nearly one-third of which had died on the way for smallpox, arrived before the town of New Castle on the 27th day of October, 1682, and produced deeds of feoffment from James, Duke of York, upon which he received possession of the town in the following day and the two counties below New Castle, few days later. On the 29th, Penn

appeared in Upland, which he selected as his temporary capital and residence, and changed its name to Chester.

Immediately after his arrival, Penn was a busy man. Twenty-three ships, with more than thousand immigrants, arrived in the Delaware during 1682, these needed much of his care. The boundary question between Penn's province and that of Lord Baltimore had become acute and disturbing, requiring Penn's immediate attention. Besides he felt it to be his duty to the Duke of York to visit his colony of New York.

But Penn could not escape of meeting the Indian chieftains, as he had promised in his letter, sent to them by his commissaries. The Indians had been accustomed to receive presents from every new deputy-governor, director or commander at their arrival. And when the presents were not forthcoming, the Indians were not shy to make a remark about it. Penn had already sent preliminary presents to them and the Indians had been made to regard the proprietary as a great dignitary, for which the greater were their anticipations.

An ancient tradition, very popular in connection of the early American colonial history, relates that "a treaty of amity and friendship" was made by Penn with the Indians, at Shackamaxon, under the branches of a great elm tree. The elm, to which the tradition was attached grew on the bank of the Delaware River, at the house built and formerly owned by Captain Lasse Cock, Penn's official interpreter in the Indian affairs. The house and plantation was sold by Captain Cock in 1678, to Elizabeth Kinsey, and by marriage became the property of Thomas Fairman. A monthly meeting of the Quakers was held in the house on the 8th of November, 1682, the record of the Society of Friends telling of Penn arriving to Philadelphia at that time, therefore it is most probable that the celebrated Penn-Indian treaty was then made.

The elm tree, known as "The Treaty Tree," became an object of veneration and was carefully protected, even the British officers posted guards around it during the Revolutionary War. The Great Elm Tree was blown down in 1810, being two hundred and eighty-three years of age, as proved by its rings. A monument now marks

the site of the tree, under which branches William Penn spoke his message of trust in humanity, in which he was never disappointed as far as concern the Indian nations represented at the noble occasion.

On the fourth of December, 1682, agreeably to earlier summons, the first General-Assembly met at Upland, now known as Chester. The members of the assembly were few and Quaker in color. The Finns and other old settlers were found to be foreigners, by the Quaker advisers of Penn, and therefore not eligible as members of the assembly. This constituted a violation of Penn's charter from the king, as in the document the planters and inhabitants in the province are always referred to as the king's subjects before there was any suggestion of new colonists. By the governor's of New York these Delaware colonists were always referred to as his Majesty's subjects and oath of allegiance had been required in behalf of the inhabitants when the river fell under English rule.

The old Finnish county of Upland having been divided into three separate counties, these three counties and the three old counties down the river, called the lower counties, each elected twelve members to the assembly, of which three from each county were to be members of the provincial council. Penn's noble Frame of Government was thus broken from the very start.

On the third day of the session a petition was presented by the freemen of the three lower counties, New Castle, Jones and New Deal, "humbly desiring that they may be favored with an act of union, by the governor and assembly, for their incorporation in and with the province of Pennsylvania, in order to the enjoyment of all the rights and privileges of the aforesaid province, and that they might ever after be esteemed and accounted as freemen of the before-mentioned province."

On the same day the Finns and other old inhabitants of Delaware presented that the governor would be pleased to make them as free as the English members of the province, and that their lands may be entailed on them and their heirs for ever. This had been granted to them when England took possession of the Delaware River in 1664. While the patents granted in name of the

Most of this production was done by the Finns, as the English were engaged with the building of the city and those who engaged in farming could not realise much in the first years, not enough for themselves.(The City of Philadelphia grew in three years more than New York and Boston had done in fifty years, but we must take into consideration that there was forty years of productive labor of the old inhabitants behind it. It was this that made such a rapid development possible. Penn's colony was laid on a firm foundation of labor of the early settlers, otherwise the colony, for the manner it was started, had resulted in the greatest disaster in the early colonial history of America.)

The year 1683, was spent with a great activity in the Province of Pennsylvania. At the end of that year 80 houses had been finished in Philadelplhia, besides hundreds of newcomers were living in the caves that they built for temporary shelter, while preparing for houses. The council met during the year fifty-seven times and several land purchases were made during the summer from the Indians. From King Tammanen and others, Penn bought the land between the Pennypack and Neshaminy Creeks; from Chief Wingebone the land on the west side of the Schuylkill River, above the falls; from Chief Secane and Icquoquehan the inland between the Schuylkill River and the Chester Creek; from Chief Neneshickon and others the inland between the Schuylkill River and Pennypack Creek; from Chief Kekerappan and Chief Machaloha the vast back forest as far south and west as Chesapeake Bay and the Susquehanna River. In these deals Captain Lasse Cock acted as interpreter and among the witnesses appear Peter Cock, Peter Rambo and Swan Swensson.

Before the council, held at Philadelphia on February 7, 1684, there was heard a case of witchcraft, the accused parties appearing to be Finns. Two women, Margaret Mattson and Gerdrud Hendrickson, were suspected of being witches and having bewitched cows. The case of Margaret Mattson was tried before the jury on February 27th, when several witnesses were heard. The jury found the prisoner "guilty of having the common fame of a witch, but not guilty in manner and form." Nils Mattson, her husband, and Anthony Nilsson, her son, entered into recognizance of fifty pounds each for the good behavior of Margaret Mattson for six months. Similarly Jacob Hendrickson, husband of Gerdrud Hendrickson, entered into the recognizance of fifty pounds for the good behavior of his wife for six months. The superstitious parties that appeared as hearsay witnesses were Englishmen and William Penn acted as the judge. Among the Finns present were Lasse Cock, member of the court, who acted as interpreter for Margaret Mattson. Gunnar Rambo was in the grand jury and Johan Cock was a witness, but did not know anything about the matter. Annakey Coolin denied of having even uttered anything she was alleged.

The controversy between William Penn and Lord Baltimore, concerning the boundaries, and other matters, required Penn's presence in England, where he sailed on June 12, 1684, after having left the care of government in the hands of the Provincial Council, of which Thomas Lloyd was made president. The town of Philadelphia now had two thousand five hundred inhabitants and had three hundred houses, while hundreds of the people lived in caves along the river bank. Soon after the arrival of Penn to England, Charles II. died and was succeeded by James, Duke of York, in whose favor Penn had stood, for his father having fought under the flag of James. This helped Penn in obtaining from the king's council a favorable decree in his dispute with Lord Baltimore. But the period of Penn's absence from the Province is marked by unhappy differences between the assembly and the council, and between the members of the three lower counties and those of Pennsylvania proper. In the assemblies of 1685 and 1686, disagreements prevailed and undignified scenes took place. In 1686, Penn changed the form of executive government to a board of five commissioners, but the next session of the assembly continued with the usual lack of harmony. Penn made another change, by appointing, in 1688, Captain John Blackwell as governor of the province. But Captain Blackwell, who was not a Quaker, fell into dissention with some of the members of the council and returned to England in February, 1690, after which the government of the province again devolved on the council, with Thomas Lloyd as president.

Upon the arrival of the ministers to their congregations, they found the Finns almost worn out of their books. Besides an English Bible and Catechisms, presented by William Penn to their church, the Rev. Bjork says in his letter "we hardly found three books." These had gone from hand to hand so that all the children had been taught to read. The ministers brought with themselves thousand one hundred and ninety volumes of religious books as gifts to the colonists, and five hundred Luther's Catechisms to the Indians, in their own language, that had been translated by the Rev. Johan Campanius, while he was in the colony in 1643 to 1648. The Indian catechisms as well as the Bibles and church books were stamped with the king's initials in golden letters. The Indians were very much pleased for their gifts and liked to hear the books read to them, also engaged Charles Springer to teach their children to read.

The old churches of the Finns were likewise in ruinous condition and outgrown for the increased population, but the congregations had grown rich, so the building of new churches was soon started. On the 28th of May 1698, the corner stone was laid for a new church behind the old fort in Christina, (within the present Wilmington in Delaware), to replace the Crane Hook church, which stood about a mile and a half from Christina and had been built by the Finns in 1667, to replace the old chapel in the fort. The new church of Christina was built of granite, the dimensions inside of the walls being sixty feet in length, thirty feet in breadth and twenty feet in height. The foundation was built six feet thick, the walls three and a half feet up to the windows and above that two feet thick. On the outside of the front wall, abbreviated inscriptions of Latin were fastened in iron letters, which translated reads, "If God be for us, who can be against us. In the reign of William III., by the grace of God, King of England. William Penn being Proprietary. William Markham, Deputy-Governor. The most illustrious King of the Swedes, Charles XI., now of most glorious memory, having sent hither Erik Tobias Bjork of Westmanland, the Pastor of the place." The church was ready for use in the early summer of

1699, and was dedicated on Trinity Sunday, on July 4, 1699, receiving the name Holy Trinity Church. A collection of about two hundred dollars was taken in, on the occasion.

The upper congregation had some difficulty in agreeing about the place for their new church. The people living along the banks of the Schuylkill, wished that the church should be built at Passayunk, where on October 1, 1695, ninety-six acres of land had been bought for that purpose and a parsonage already existed, (at present Point Breeze). Those living in Shackamaxon, Taokaninck and on the Neshaminy Creek, wished the church for their convenience to be built upon the same ground where the Wicaco church then stood. While others, living as far down the River as Marcus Hook and those on the New Jersey side as far down as the Raccoon Creek, who belonged to the Wicaco congregation, wished that the Tinicum church, at which the bones of the early settlers were buried, and for being the first church on the Delaware River, should be honored and kept in repair as long as possible, and afterwards a new church built at the same place.

While the Christina congregation was building a fine church the Philadelphia congregation could not agree about the place where to build. The Rev. Rudman, who was ministering with the Wicaco congregation, finally became disgusted and threatened to leave for Sweden, upon which the congregation left the question entirely to the ministers to settle. After which it was decided to build the church at Wicaco, close by the old church, where also was an old graveyard. The church land at Passayunk was to be kept as the church property forever, but the present minister was to be at liberty to reside in his own place on the Society Hill (at the present intersection of Pine and Front Streets) where he had twelve and a half acres of ground, given to him by his new brother-in-law, Valentine Cock. For the convenience of the people residing below the Schuylkill River, a ferry boat was to be maintained by the congregation for the crossing of that river. Which all was set forth in a document and subscribed in a meeting at the church glebe, in Passayunk, on September 18, 1698.

The building of the church was then started with zeal. The

masons who had finished their work at the church of the Christina congregation came up to Wicaco, the carpenters following. Materials were brought from the old church on the Tinicum Island and within a year the church was nearly completed. Upon the west end a place for a belfry was laid out, until some bells could be obtained. The dimensions of the church inside of the walls were sixty feet in length, thirty feet in breadth, and twenty feet in height. The foundation being of stone, the walls of red brick, every other one glaced black. On July 2, 1700, being the first Sunday after Trinity, the church was dedicated, the ceremony extending over three days. The dedication fiest was attended by numerous assembly, the Finns from far and near arrived to it, besides there were many German Lutherans and English Episcopalians, to whose benefit the dedication address was repeated in English by Pastor Bjork. The three Swedish ministers who officiated in the ceremonies, were robed in surplice and chasuble. The German Theosophic Brotherhood, who in 1694, came to the country and settled in a kind of a cloister at the Wissahickon, and among whose were a number of scholars, assisted in the ceremonies with instrumental music and singing. The dedication was a notable event in the colony. Gloria Dei (God's Glory) was the name given to the church.

The little bell of the Tinicum church was attached to the new church, although no belfry was built before a larger bell could be obtained. The bell has its own history, it was sent from Sweden by the New Sweden Company in 1644, for the Tinicum church that was built by the colonists in 1643. It went through a fire when the church burned down in 1645 and was again rang when a new church was dedicated on September 4, 1646. After the downfall of the Swedish rule on the Delaware, Armegot Printz, remained in the colony for some time to dispose her father's properties. In 1662, she sold the Tinicum Island to a citizen of Holland, J. de la Grange, and with it the church that stood on her father's land. To recover the church bell, the members of the Finnish congregation had to work two days each on the Hollander's farm during the harvest time. As half of the price had not been paid, on account of the death of the buyer, "Miss Printz" came to recover it and was allowed to take possession of the Island. The Finns then demanded a written assurance that she is not going to sell the bell again, which was given on May 24, 1673, Peter Cock and Jonas Nilsson appearing as witnesses. The bell was used in the churches of the Finns for one hundred and sixty-two years, before it was recasted larger in 1806, and got the form as it today appears at the church of Gloria Dei. It has the following inscription: "Cast for the Swedish Church in Philadelphia Stiled Gloria Dei. G. Hedderly Fecit 1806 partly from the old Bell dated 1643. I to the church the living call and to the grave do summons all."

The new churches of the Finns were then the landmarks of the country. The Rev. Bjork, in writing about these new churches to Sweden, says that, "we have completed the great work, and built two fine churches, superior to any built in this country particularly that at Christina." He also says that Francis Nicholson, Governor of Maryland, and Blackstone, Governor of Virginia had with their suites visited the churches.

These new substantial edifices for worship, greatly strengthened the morale of the Anti-Quaker party and laid the final check to the conversion of the new immigrants to Quakerism. As we have already made notice of the Quaker schoolmaster, George Keith, started in 1692, a schism in that sect. Then in 1694, after Keith had left for England, there arrived from Germany a company of forty new emigrants, who had united themselves into a mysterious brotherhood. Among these men were a number of Students of Lutheran Theology from the German universities, and their chaplain during the voyage. Heinrich Bernhard Koester, continued in that capacity in their colony at Wissahickon, where they built for themselves a block-house dwelling, surmounted by an observatory, the first one in America. Before their arrival to the country, they had been led to believe of the existence of a German Lutheran Church in Germantown, which was the first settlement of Frankfort Land Company, that was started in 1683, after the company had bought 25,000 acres of land from William

gations worked for a union against these intruders. The Finnish congregation of Wicaco had received as a member one Peter Kock, a newly arrived Swedish adventurer, (not belonging to the Peter Cock family of the early colonists, whose descendants were now mostly known as Cox), who had engaged in business in Philadelphia. As the descendants of the old Finnish families, who had built the church, were not taking much active interest in the church affairs, on account of being Anglinized and not knowing the Swedish language, Mr. Kock became the real leader of the church affairs. He supported and worked for the union of these old churches of the Finns and of the German Lutherans, but Pastor Naesman of Wicaco was against this plan for the reason that these old Finnish churches had valuable properties in church buildings and lands, while the German congregations still were poor. But Mr. Kock, who had large business interests among the Germans, insisted upon union and finally tried to get Pastor Naesman out of the way, by writing against him to the Consistory of Upsala requesting his recall and offering to pay the travelling expenses of a new minister. On the other hand he tried to force Mr. Naesman to quit, by holding the rents that came from the lots owned by the church, that were to pay the salary of the minister. Mr. Naesman however managed to make his living by preaching in the outlying settlements.

The Consistory of Upsala, not being able to notice that the real fault of the troubles was that the Swedish ministers had grown out of date in America, sent two new ministers for the Finnish congregations on the Delaware. These were the Rev. Israel Acrelius and the Rev. Erik Unander, who arrived to Philadelphia on November 6, 1749, bringing a letter from the Consistory of Upsala to Pastor Naesman advising him to prepare for his return to Sweden, as another minister, to replace him, was only detained in Sweden on account of falling sick when the other ministers departed. This was a disappointment to Pastor Naesman, as he had thought that things would be alright now as his opponent Mr. Kock had lately died.

Pastor Acrelius who had been appointed as provost of the

Swedish ministers in America, likewise brought a recall to Sweden for Pastor Tranberg of Christina, who after Provost Sandin's death had written to the consistory of Upsala, desiring to be promoted to the office of provost, but which did not materialize for he was suspected of Moravian sympathies. Pastor Tranberg did not however live to be disappointed, for he died on a visit to his old congregation in Pennsneck, on November 8, 1748, and his remains were interred beneath the great aisle in the Trinity Church at Wilmington.

The Moravians had made a considerable progress among the Finns in New Jersey. At Raccoon their meetings were held in private houses, but in Piles Grove they built a church of their own, which was dedicated by the Moravian Bishop Spangenberg and the Rev. Lars Nyberg in 1749. The Finnish church at Pennsneck was very much theirs since the death of Pastor Sandin, while at Maurice River they had a meeting house, which was dedicated on December 18, 1746. Meetings were also held at Great and Little Egg Harbor.

The first burial in the Moravian graveyard at Piles Grove church was that of Molly Holstein, wife of Lars Holstein, who died on November 20, 1748, nine days after the birth of a child Mary.

Among the prominent families of the old Finnish colonists, that belonged to the Moravian congregations in New Jersey, were the Holsteins (original name Halttunen, changed to Haltun, Holton and Holstein), the Mullicas, first settlers and founders of the town of Mullica Hill, New Jersey, (original name Mullikka), the Locks, descendants of the Rev. Laurentius Carolus Lokenius, the Rambos, descendants of Peter Rambo, the first emigrant to America from Finland, the Kyns, (original name Yrjana Kyy, changed to Jurriaen Kyyn, Kyn and Keen) and the Senecksens (original name Sinikka).

After the death of the Rev. Sandin in August 1748, and Pastor Tranberg in November of the same year, the Finnish churches had only one Swedish minister, the Rev. Naesman, and his standing badly shaken by the machinations of the Swedish

James Church. The edifice was intended for an audience of 600 people, was sixty feet long, forty-five feet wide and had also a balcony.

Several new improvements have been added to the old church of Kingsessing. The church stands on Darby Road, between 68th and 69th Streets in Philadelphia. Kingsessing, the old Finnish town is today included in the city of Philadelphia.

About the time the Kingsessing church was built, another church was built by the Finns at Upper Matzong or Upper Merion. Dr. Wrangel used to preach there once a week during week days and few times a year on Sundays. For the additional work, the congregation agreed to pay twenty pounds for an assistant minister and Wrangel from his side agreed to give free board for the assistant, these arrangements were made in a minister's meeting on August 3, 1761, in Wicaco. Accordingly a minister was petitioned for, from Sweden and the king paid the traveling expenses of the first minister, with the hope that congregation afterwards could be able to provide for the same. As the result thereof Johan Haggblad was sent from Sweden as assistant minister for Wrangel.

The Upper Merion church was built in 1763, and was called Christ Church. It stands on the west bank of the Schuylkill, below Norristown and about sixteen miles from the Wicaco church. The first Finnish settlers in this region were Mats Holstein, (original name Halttunen and originating from Halttulapohja, Kankaanpaa, Finland), and Peter Rambo, (descendant of Peter Rambo and his wife Brita Mattson, both born in Vasa, Finland), with their families. Mats (Mathias) Holstein had one thousand acres of land in the neighborhood of what was formerly called Swede's Ford, after him.

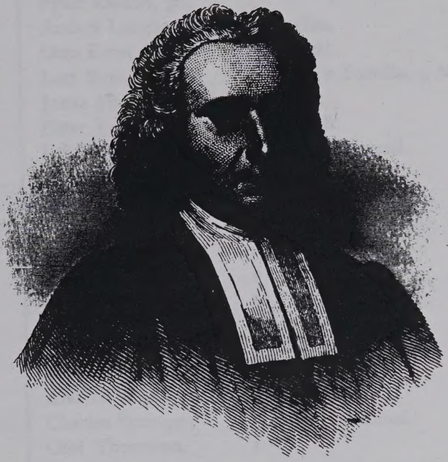
The Rev. Johan Haggblad arrived to Philadelphia on September 20, 1763, as Dr. Wrangel's assistant. Wrangel gave him free board and allowed him half of the extra incomes and later pursuaded the congregation to allow sixty pounds yearly salary for Haggblad, that he might be able to board in the country.

In order to keep the Wicaco church and the newly built annex churches at Kingsessing and Upper Merion in the hands of the descendants of the people who built them, and in order to secure their Lutheran faith, these churches were united into a corporation. Although the incorporators were mostly Finns, there being besides Provost Wrangel presumably one Swede, Otto Nisellis, (Hesselius) the incorporated name of these churches was "United Swedish Lutheran Churches." A charter for these churches was granted by Governor John Penn, on September 25, 1765.

Dr. Wrangel also preached once a month for the Finns at Pennypack Creek, but the people being too few there to build a church of their own, they united with the English and German neighbors to an Episcopalian congregation in 1773.

The school at Kingsessing, having been built for sixty students, could not accommodate all applicants, therefore a new school was necessary. In a letter of November 5, 1763, to the Archbishop of Sweden, Dr. Wrangel tells of another new school, to be built when the church is ready, for which purpose eighty pounds already had been subscribed.

At this time Dr. Wrangel made propositions that students from among the congregations should be sent to Sweden to be prepared as Lutheran ministers for their relatives in America. Thus Wrangel had taken the steps that might have saved to the Finnish descendants their Lutheran religion, that their forefathers so zealously had guarded and had built churches and provided for their maintenance that their posterity might not find difficulty in their worship. Dr. Wrangel had common sense to see that the Swedish language at this period was the destructive force within the congregations, that its propagation drove the descendants of the original builders of the churches away and left only a handful of people, the families of few newly arrived adventurers from Sweden, who had not had part in the building of the churches or in providing their maintenance. For this Dr. Wrangel however drew the displeasure of the Consistory of Upsala upon himself, and became the scapegoat of everything that was not to the liking of his superiors in Sweden, or his fellow ministers here.



Isr. Acrelius

FISK

A

HISTORY OF NEW SWEDEN;

OR,

THE SETTLEMENTS ON THE RIVER DELAWARE.

BY

ISRAEL ACRELIUS,

PROVOST OF THE SWEDISH CHURCHES IN AMERICA, AND RECTOR OF
THE OLD SWEDES' CHURCH. WILMINGTON, DEL.

Translated from the Swedish,

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES,

BY

WILLIAM M. REYNOLDS, D.D.,

MEMBER OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA, ETC.

PUBLISHED UNDER THE JOINT AUSPICES OF THE
HISTORICAL SOCIETIES OF PENNSYLVANIA AND DELAWARE.

PHILADELPHIA:
PUBLICATION FUND OF
THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA,
No. 820 SPRUCE STREET.
1874.

No. III. "A list of the Bibles and Manuals for which we, the undersigned, send to our fatherland, for which we hereby give the assurance of our handwriting that we will honorably and honestly pay for the same when we obtain them.

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Caspar Fisk,	1 " 1 "
Peter Rambo, jr.,	1 " 1 "
Anders Langhorn,	1 Postilla.
Otto Ernst Cock,	1 Manual.
Lars Bure,	1 Bible, 1 Postilla, 3 Manuals.
Jonas Fooin,	2 Bibles.
Peter Yrm,	2 Manuals.
Eric Cock,	1 Bible, 1 Manual.
Gabriel Cock,	1 Manual.
Michel Nilsson,	2 Manuals.
Johan Stille,	1 Postilla, 1 Manual.
Göstaf Göstafsson,	1 Bible.
Johan Schute,	1 "
Måns Göstafsson,	1 "
Johan Svensson,	1 "
Hans Loican,	1 " 1 Manual.
Mårten Mårtenson, jr.,	2 Manuals.
Anders Wiler,	1 "
Charles Springer,	1 Bible, 1 Manual.
Olof Thomsson,	1 "

"We, the undersigned, acknowledge and confirm that the books which we have expressly ordered are, three Postillor, thirteen Bibles, twenty-one Manuals; and if any accident should happen to these books aforesaid, yet we obligate ourselves to pay for them honorably."

14. The Letter arrived safely.

The letter arrived safely and promptly, together with the lists, and Thelin sent them all over directly to the Royal Chancery. But various obstacles intervened, especially the death of Her Royal Majesty, Queen Ulrica Eleanora, the wife of King Charles XI., which occurred just at that time. Hence the American Mission was delayed for some time.

CHAPTER II.

REVIVAL OF THE MISSION.

1. King Charles XI. takes Counsel of Dr. Svedberg.

THE business of the Mission was again taken up. His Majesty was pleased to call to him at the castle, *Dr. Jesper Swedberg*,[1] who was at that time Provost of the Cathedral (Dom-Probsten) in Upsala, gave him the lettter to read, and asked him what should be done? That great light of the Church immediately recalled to mind the conversation which, during his travels, he had had with the Licentiate of Theology, Ezardi, in Hamburg. In one of their conversations in regard to the conversion of the Jews, Dr. Ezardi had stated how the early Christians in that place had in their wills devised considerable property for the conversion of the heathen; that a large part of this had at the present time come into the hands of the Swedish Crown, among the property held by Sweden at Stade, in Bremen; that the income of this property had been converted into stipends to pay the travelling expenses of the nobility; as, also, that some who enjoyed the benefit of this abused the trust, of which a dissolute nobleman, who was then in Hamburg, travelling upon this stipend, was an undeniable example; that thus they who had the benefit of it converted no heathen, and so the property was expended in direct contrariety to the contents of the will. It would therefore be much more becoming, as there were no heathen in the neighborhood, to apply it to the conversion of

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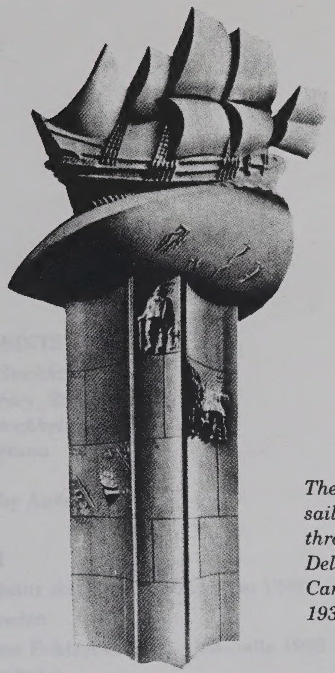
ton; Iwarson, Ivarson; Joccom, Yocum; Swån and *Swånson, Swen* and *Swenson;* and, according to Mr. Clay's statement ("Annals," p. 147), *Bonde* has become *Boon; Cock, Cox; Jonasson, Jones; Hoppman, Hoffman; Von Colen, Colin; Wihler, Wheeler.*" Christian names of one language are naturally exchanged for those of another.]

[1] [Probably the "*Manuale Sveticum*" mentioned in Chapter II., of the Seventh Book of this History.]

[1] [Dr. Svedberg (father of Emmanuel Svedberg, commonly called Swedenberg) became an army chaplain in 1682; Court preacher in 1689; Pastor at Vingåker in 1690; Professor of Theology at Upsala in 1692; Provost of the Cathedral in the same place in 1695; Bishop of Skara in 1702; died in 1735.]

ALF ÅBERG



The Kalmar Nyckel, sails billowing, plows through the waves on the Delaware Monument by Carl Milles, erected in 1936.

The People of New Sweden

Our Colony on the Delaware River 1638–1655

TRANSLATED BY ROGER TANNER

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The translation and printing of this book
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BOKFÖRLAGET NATUR OCH KULTUR

PICTURE CREDITS
Krigsarkivet, Stockholm
The Royal Library, Stockholm
Riksarkivet, Stockholm
Skokloster, Sigtuna

Cover design by Anders Rahm
©
Alf Åberg and
Bokförlaget Natur och Kultur, Stockholm 1988
Printed in Sweden
Bohusläningens Boktryckeri AB, Uddevalla 1988
ISBN 91-27-01909-8

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4/95

(10.95)

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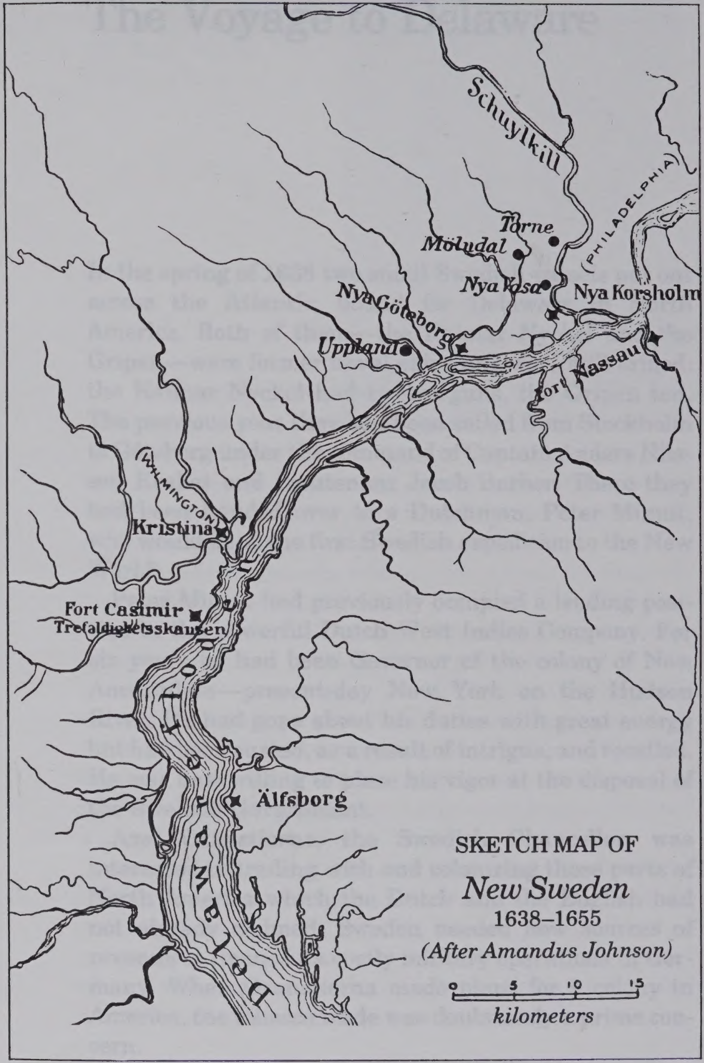

Schuylkill
(PHILADELPHIA)
Torne
Mölndal
Nya Vasa
Nya Korsholm
Nya Göteborg
Uppland
Fort Nassau
(WILMINGTON)
Kristina
Fort Casimir
Trefaldighetsskansen
Älfsborg
Delaware
SKETCH MAP OF
New Sweden
1638–1655
(After Amandus Johnson)
0 5 10 15
kilometers

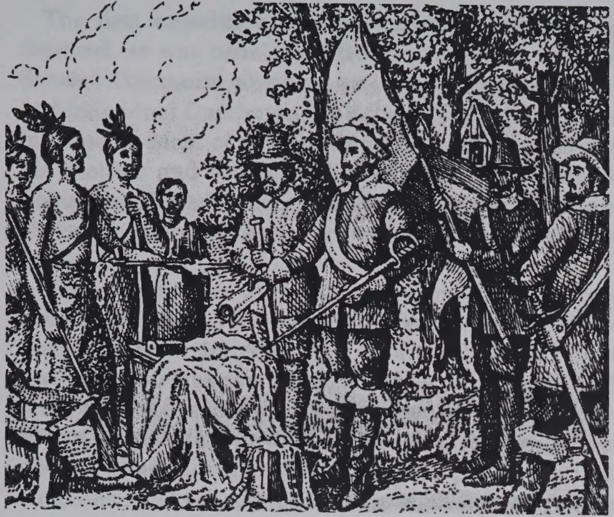
The Swedish colony, with its fortifications and settlements, mainly occupied the left bank of the Delaware River, south of what is now the town of Wilmington and upstream as far as Philadelphia.

The Voyage to Delaware

In the spring of 1638 two small Swedish vessels put out across the Atlantic, bound for Delaware in North America. Both of them—the Kalmar Nyckel and the Gripen—were former naval ships and were still armed; the Kalmar Nyckel had twelve guns, the Gripen ten. The previous year they had been sailed from Stockholm to Göteborg under the command of Captain Anders Nilsson Krabat and Lieutenant Jacob Barber. There they had been handed over to a Dutchman, Peter Minuit, who would head the first Swedish expedition to the New World.

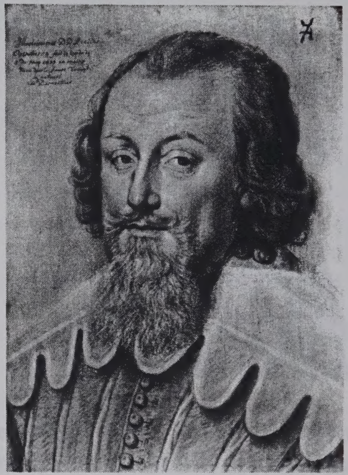
Peter Minuit had previously occupied a leading position in the powerful Dutch West Indies Company. For six years he had been Governor of the colony of New Amsterdam—present-day New York on the Hudson River. He had gone about his duties with great energy but had been ousted, as a result of intrigue, and recalled. He was now willing to place his vigor at the disposal of the Swedish Government.

Axel Oxenstierna, the Swedish Chancellor, was interested in trading with and colonizing those parts of North America which the Dutch and the English had not already claimed. Sweden needed new sources of revenue to finance its costly military operations in Germany. When Oxenstierna made plans for a colony in America, the tobacco trade was doubtlessly a prime concern.



A recent drawing of the newly arrived Governor, Peter Minuit, buying Manhattan from the Indians for 24 dollars in 1626.

In 1613 English colonists were growing tobacco on a grand scale in Virginia. Before long, American tobacco was sold all over Western Europe. In Sweden, smoking is first mentioned among the students of Uppsala in 1629. The new habit rapidly spread to the common people; no doubt the many soldiers returning from Germany and the Thirty Years' War were an influential factor. As early as 1641 we find Queen Christina referring to smoking as a deeply-rooted vice. Tobacco was imported to Sweden by foreign merchants at great cost. A colony in America would enable Sweden to grow enough tobacco for its own requirements and at the same time to participate in the European tobacco trade. It would also provide an opportunity to purchase beaver pelts—a commodity much in demand—directly from the Indians. If Sweden gained a foothold in the New World, perhaps too there would be a market outside Europe for copper, our principal export.



Axel Oxenstierna. Charcoal and pastel drawing by Daniel Dumonstier, 1633. Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences.

Dutch merchants who had been in America indicated the area near the South or Delaware River as an appropriate site for a Swedish colony. This would later become disputed territory. The English claimed it, because the river had been discovered, in 1610, by one of their captains. The Dutch, on the other hand, claimed a right of occupation on the river because they had already purchased a short length of the shoreline. And now representatives of Sweden, a country lately risen to great power status, also joined in the bickering.

Peter Minuit had vigorously supported the Swedish Chancellor's American schemes, as a matter of Swedish national interest. The English, French and Dutch, he wrote, had occupied extensive territories in the New World, and Sweden should no longer refrain from making its name known in foreign regions.

The first expedition to America was organized and financed, as was usual, by a trading company, the New Sweden Company, which was a joint venture of Swedes and individual Dutchmen. Half the capital was procured in Sweden. Most of it was put up by Axel Oxenstierna, his brother and cousin and the head of the Board of Commerce, Clas Fleming. The utmost secrecy had to be observed, to avoid being forestalled by the rival great powers.

The commanders of the ships and most of the crews were recruited in Holland, as it was the main center of maritime expertise. The master of the Kalmar Nyckel was Jan Hindrickson van der Water. Another Dutchman, Michel Symonssen, "a good, honest man" familiar with the coast of North America, was first mate. Andrian Jöransen commanded the Gripen, and two Dutch surgeons had been signed on. Hendrick Huygen, a kinsman of Peter Minuit, was appointed Commissioner for the colony. He was responsible for the purchase of supplies and merchandise, and eventually would prove to be a tower of strength to the colony.

One of the Swedes on board the Kalmar Nyckel was Måns Nilsson Kling, appointed Lieutenant and in command of about twenty soldiers. Everything suggests that he was an old campaigner. The Swedish army lists mention only one officer by the name of Måns Nilsson. He had served as a colonel in Adolf Hård's regiment in the County of Jönköping, first as a private and then as an officer, until, in the summer of 1636, he received his discharge at a muster in Växjö. He would now be in command of foreign soldiers in a foreign country.

Peter Minuit sat in his cabin on board the Kalmar Nyckel re-reading the secret instructions he had received from Axel Oxenstierna. On reaching the Delaware River, he was to sail up as far as Minquas Kill (present-day Christina River). He was to make contact with the Indians, present them with gifts and tell them that he had come to trade with them. He was to make sure that his people did them no harm. Then he was to explore the river, make sure that no other European people had settled there and buy an area of land on the western side of Delaware, between Minquas Kill and Sankikan Kill (present-day Trenton) from the Indians. This land was to be called New Sweden. At Minquas Kill he was to build a fortress and mark boundaries.

Gustavus Adolphus. Bronze bust by Hans von der Putt.

After founding this colony, he was to continue on board the Kalmar Nyckel to the coast of Florida, and if he found a suitable place there, it was to be occupied on behalf of the Swedish Government. If trade with the Indians turned out to be a success, he was to leave a few men on the Delaware River and return with the cargo to Göteborg.

Oxenstierna had issued special rules of discipline for the crew and the soldiers which were every bit as rigorous as Gustavus Adolphus' articles of war. Absolute obedience was commanded. Everyone was to be vigilant. No one was to trade privately. Theft was to be punished as severely as brawling and drunkenness. Prayers were

to be held every morning and every evening, and anyone absenting himself without permission would be fined six stivers.

The two ships put out from the port of Göteborg in November 1637. They were badly knocked about by the autumn storms, and in December they had to seek refuge in the port of Texel, in the West Frisian Islands, for caulking, and re-provisioning. From here they sailed to the town of Medemblik to get the damage repaired. They put out to sea again on the last day of the year, the 31st of December, 1637.

The Atlantic crossing passed without incident, and in mid-March 1638 they reached the Delaware River. Here they were confronted by the greenery of spring and the fragrance of the forest-clad banks. They went ashore at Mispillion Creek, close to the estuary, and found the country so divinely beautiful that they called the area Paradise Point.

They continued their voyage, as instructed, up the river to Minquas Kill, dropping anchor at the landing now occupied by the town of Wilmington. There were several Indian huts on the shore. The ships fired a two-round "Swedish salute", whereupon Minuit went ashore with some of his men, including the Indian interpreter Andres Lucassen. They advanced a few kilometers up Minquas Kill, without seeing any trace of "Christian people". By the time they returned to the landing, many Indians from the Lenape tribes which lived nearby had gathered on the shore. They came in their canoes, attracted by the thunder of the cannon. Among them were several sachems, or chiefs, each representing his tribe.

Minuit, who knew how to comport himself, proceeded at once—assisted by the interpreter—to bargain with the chiefs for the land. Gifts were presented and on the 29th of March (the 8th of April by the new calendar) five plenipotentiary chieftains—Mattahorn, Mitatsimint, Elupacken, Mahomen and Chiton—came on board the Kalmar Nyckel. In Minuit's cabin they agreed to sell the title to the land on both sides of Minquas Kill, from Schuylkill up river (the site of present-day Philadelphia) down to Duck Creek (what is now Bombay Hook). Altogether this represented a stretch of 67 miles on the western shore of the Delaware River.

The Indians took payment in kind for this land. A contract of sale was drawn up and the Indians signed with their marks. This document is no longer in existence. Time was to show that the Swedes and Indians had different concepts of land purchase.

Afterwards everybody went ashore at the point where Milles' Delaware monument now stands. A pole was erected here displaying the arms of Queen Christina, and the new colony was solemnly proclaimed New Sweden.

Two miles from the point where Minquas Kill enters the Delaware, there was a high promontory which could be approached by sea on one side but on the other side was surrounded by swamps. Minuit had a square stockade built here which he called Fort Christina. Guns taken from the ships were mounted in three of the corners. The Swedish colors flew from a flagpole in the stockade. Fort Christina was felt to be suitably positioned for keeping the Indians at arms length, but it was much too far away to bar the Delaware River to the Dutch and English.

A wharf was constructed on the waterfront. Two log cabins were built inside the stockade, one to accommodate the commander, Måns Kling and his soldiers, and the other for the food and supplies unloaded from the ships. A small garden was also laid out inside the stockade, and this is where the first attempts were made at tobacco growing.

The colony was primarily intended as a trading post. Shortly after his arrival, Minuit sent the Gripen to Jamestown, Virginia, to exchange its cargo from Sweden for tobacco, but the British Governor would not hear of any such freedom of trade. After a ten-day wait, the Gripen had to return to Fort Christina with its mission unaccomplished.

Further up the Delaware River, the Dutch had a strongpoint, Fort Nassau, opposite what is now Philadelphia. During one of his expeditions Minuit was intercepted by a Dutch sloop and was asked to show his papers. After a brief altercation, Minuit retreated. The Dutch then lodged an official protest at the Swedes' unlawful behavior, because in their view the entire river area fell under the jurisdiction of the West Indies Company. Minuit disregarded the protest, refusing to make any reply.

The Swedes remained on good terms with the Lenape Indians on the river and bought all their food supplies from them. But the fine beaver pelts and other furs were purchased from the Minquas Indians, living eight miles upriver Minquas Kill, who came to Delaware to trade with the white men. At this time there was evidently peace between the Minquas and the Delaware Indians (as they called the Lenapes).

The Gripen returned to the colony with a black slave, Antonius, who was added to the garrison. Minuit now had the many beaver, otter and bear pelts he had acquired loaded on board the Gripen, which in April 1639 set out for Göteborg, arriving there six weeks later after a long and prosperous voyage. This was the Gripen's one and only American voyage. A few months later, while still at anchor in the port of Göteborg, she was badly damaged in a storm, after which no more is heard of her. The cargo of pelts was taken to Holland and sold there.

In June 1639 it was Minuit's turn to leave New Sweden, sailing on the principal vessel, the Kalmar Nyckel, to the West Indian island of St. Kitt's to exchange his cargo of wine and schnapps for tobacco. While there, he and his mate were invited as guests on board a Dutch ship, Het Vliegende Hert, which was also in harbor. While they were on board, a tremendous storm suddenly blew up, driving all the ships out of the harbor. The Kalmar Nyckel returned undamaged, but the Dutch ship disappeared with all hands and was never heard of again.

The Kalmar Nyckel waited a few more days in port, but in vain. Peter Minuit was gone, and the loss of this experienced, humane pioneer was a severe loss to the colony. During the homeward voyage, the Kalmar Nyckel ran into a new storm in the North Sea and had to cut its main mast. It only made Göteborg after prolonged repairs in a Dutch harbor. The cargo of tobacco was sold in Sweden. The first expedition had heavy losses. The Dutch participants complained, but both they and the Swedes hoped that the next expedition would have better luck.

Fort Christina

After the Kalmar Nyckel left, the entire population of Fort Christina consisted of Måns Kling, his 23 Swedish and Dutch soldiers, the black slave Antonius and Commissioner Hendrick Huygen. They lived in a sturdy log cabin with loopholes and two small windows. In one corner there was a fireplace built of bricks from Sweden. The men slept on bunks and ate their meals sitting on benches at roughly hewn tables.

The Swedes had not settled in a wilderness. The Delaware Indians belonged to the great Algonquin group. They were a permanently settled, farming people, and their villages were surrounded by great fields. The Swedes bought Indian corn and beans from them, but also apples, watermelons, plums and grapes. The Indians along the river also fished and hunted and could offer the Swedes all kinds of fish, venison, moose and bear, and wild birds like turkeys and capercaillie, black grouse, partridge and geese. In return the Indians received brightly-colored woolen fabrics, implements of all kinds, fishing hooks, clay pipes, mirrors and glass beads.

The Delaware Indians got on well with the Swedes, who found them to be "more disposed to good than evil". It was these Indians who taught the Swedes to grow corn.

Meanwhile Commissioner Huygen continued buying furs from the Minquas Indians further up the river.

They belonged to the Iroquois and, in the Swedes' opinion, were strong and brutal, a handsome, intrepid people. Everything suggests that Huygen knew this region before the Swedes arrived there, in addition he was interested in the Indians' culture and knew how to get on close terms with them. The Swedes followed his example and treated the Indians well. Even when the colony strength increased, they never committed any violence against the Indians, resulting in no serious attack on their settlement.

Måns Kling and his soldiers had the task of guarding the Fort and the Delaware River and making sure that the colony's boundary markings were not removed. This was a fairly easy task as long as the Indians remained friendly and the Dutch and the English ignored the tiny Swedish garrison. It was less easy for them to judge how far the boundaries of the colony extended. The agreement with the Indian chiefs was vaguely worded, and Swedish claims to a number of extensive land areas remained unsettled.

In the spring of 1640 the soldiers began keeping a look-out for the ship due to arrive with stores and reinforcements from Sweden. At last, on the 17th of April, the Indians told them that the Kalmar Nyckel had entered the Delaware River. On board were a new Governor, a chaplain, soldiers, colonists and supplies for trading with the Indians.

The new expedition had resulted from the vigorous efforts of Clas Fleming. The Governor he had appointed was a Lieutenant of the Admiralty, Peter Hollender Ridder, a Dutchman in Swedish service. The ship, once again, had a Dutch crew, even though the Board of Admiralty had appealed to the master to recruit and train a number of good Swedish hands "for the western voyage".

The chaplain on board was called Reorus Torkillus.

Born in Mölndal, he was serving as a chaplain in Göteborg when he was assigned to New Sweden, thereby becoming the first Lutheran minister in America. He was a married man of thirty.

Also on board the Kalmar Nyckel were the two Dutchmen Joost van Langdonk and Gregorius van Dyck. Van Langdonk was traveling out to replace Hendrick Huygen as Commissioner, but before long he would fall out of favor with the Governor and return to Europe. Van Dyck, on the other hand, remained in the colony and did a great deal for the promotion of trade with the Indians.

Fleming had intended dispatching a large expedition to New Sweden, and he had called upon the Governor of Älvsborg County to identify young men willing to serve in the colony as craftsmen, soldiers and tobacco planters. Volunteers, however, were hard to come by, and in the end the organizers were reduced to deporting to New Sweden a number of soldiers who had deserted or committed other, minor offenses.

Not all of them were miscreants, however. Also on board was Peter Gunnarsson Rambo, who was to become the first free farmer or freeman in New Sweden. With him was his brother Sven Gunnarsson. Anders Larsson Dalbo was also to become one of the better-known citizens of the colony. Otherwise the small company on board mainly consisted of chartered soldiers whose main activity in the colony would be tobacco planting.

The Kalmar Nyckel carried four mares, two colts and a large number of supplies.

On the wharf at Fort Christina, Måns Kling handed over command of the strongpoint to the new Governor, Peter Hollender. The men and horses were taken ashore and the supplies laid up in the storehouse inside the stockade. After making a tour of inspection around the colony, Hollender was able to report back to Sweden that the country was suitable for agriculture and cattle-raising. The Fort needed to be repaired and its stocks of powder, shot and artillery replenished. And a new Fort would have to be built on the Delaware River, a royal fort capable of serving as "a key to New Sweden".

Inside the ramparts of the fort, Hollender had three houses built for the new inhabitants, as well as a new storehouse and stables for the horses. But the colony needed many other things besides—more horses, cows, oxen and seed corn, as well as hemp and salt, window panes, tools, fishing nets and a few barrels of schnapps. All these things would have to come by the next ship. Above all, the colony needed skilled craftsmen. At the moment there was no one here capable of building an ordinary farm cottage. "It would be hard to find more inept people in all of Sweden," the Governor complained—unfairly, because the people in question were now busily building cottages at the fort. The soldiers in the colony fished and hunted, but as usual provisions had to be purchased from the Indians and from English merchants. Relations with the Indians were good. The Swedes obtained, by barter, a fine stock of expensive beaver pelts which were loaded on board the Kalmar Nyckel before it set out for Göteborg again, in May 1649.

The Swedes already had far more land than they needed, but Hollender was determined to expand the colony's territory. He sailed up the river in a sloop and refused to halt near Fort Nassau, even though the Dutch fired warning shots after him. They made no attempt at pursuit, though, and at this time the Dutch Fort only had a garrison of twenty.

Well past Fort Nassau, the Swedish Governor met a number of Indian chiefs, from whom he purchased an area reaching from the Schuylkill tributary to Trenton, a stretch of forty miles along the west bank of the river. As usual, he paid with goods.

Some time later, Hollender parleyed with the Indian chief Wikusi and purchased a large area of land on the west shore, down river from Duck Creek all the way to Cape Henloben. Hollender also contrived to acquire a piece of land on the eastern side of the river. Stakes displaying the Swedish national crest were put up at the new boundary, and a Swedish salute was fired from the sloop; but these purchases were of little account as long as the Swedes in Delaware were so few in number.

One day in November 1640 the good ship Freedenburgh put in at Fort Christina with about fifty Dutch colonists on board, all of them farming people from the province of Utrecht who were dissatisfied with conditions in their native region. For this reason they had approached the Swedish Government and asked to be allowed to settle in New Sweden. Since the colony on the Delaware needed people, the Government gave them permission to settle in an area about 20 miles above Fort Christina, on both sides of the river. They were Dutch Reformists and were promised religious liberty and their own system of justice, but they had to acknowledge Swedish sovereignty.

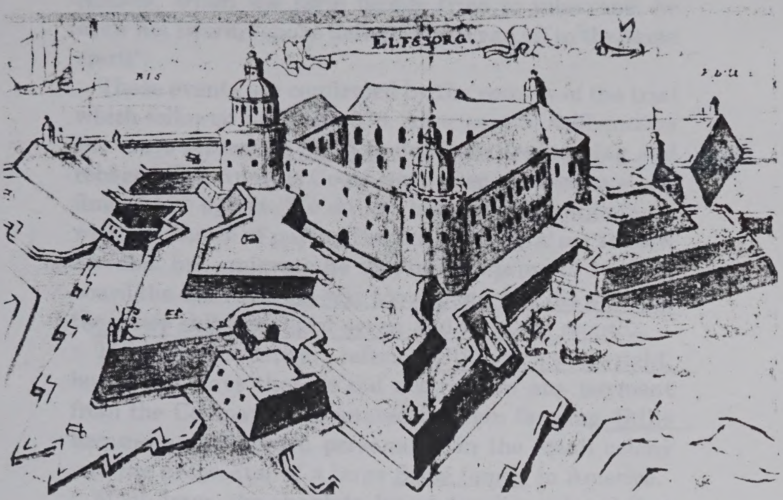
The Dutch had cattle and agricultural implements, and after spending a few days at the fort they continued to the area to which Hollender assigned them. There they settled down and built houses. We do not know what happened to them after this. Two years later the colony had vanished. Perhaps an epidemic broke out, or perhaps they migrated to join their compatriots in New Amsterdam. Or again, perhaps a few of them joined up with Swedes in New Sweden, for from the very outset this colony had included both Swedes and Dutchmen, and before long a number of Englishmen settled there as well.

In the first week of November 1641 the Kalmar Nyckel returned to Fort Christina for the third time, this time together with a smaller vessel, the Charitas. On board were thirty-five farmers, craftsmen and soldiers, together with a minister, Master Christoffer, who was to assist the Rev. Torkillus. The Dutch participants had now tired of their undertaking and withdrawn, and the Swedes had taken over their shares. The colony was now entirely Swedish. The ships' officers were still Dutch, but most of the crew and the colonists were Swedes.

The ships brought livestock from Sweden. Some of the animals had died on the voyage, but five horses, eight cows, five sheep and two goats were led onto the wharf, making a welcome addition to the few animals which the colony already possessed.

The government had gone to great pains finding colonists and had above all tried to recruit farmers from the wild country of Dalarna which had been settled by Finns. The Finns were known for their practice of burn-beating, i.e. burning away the forest and then plowing the ash-laden ground and sowing crops in it. At home the government was vainly trying, by laws and regulations, to put a stop to this practice, because the Crown needed all available timber resources for the mining industry. It was now hoped that the recruitment of Finnish colonists would also be the salvation of Dalarna's forests.

Little came of it all, however. The Finns were terrified at the prospect of the long voyage and an unknown country. Instead, as usual, colonists had to be conscripted. Four Finns who were found guilty of illegal burn-beating were offered a choice between military service and migration to New Sweden "with their wives, children and implements". They opted for the colony. A young cavalryman had entered the royal garden at Varnhem Church and chopped down six apple trees and two cherry trees. He had to choose between hanging for theft



The old fortress of Älvsborg. Drawing by Erik Dahlbergh for Suecia Antiqua.

or sailing, with his wife and children, "on board our ship from Göteborg to New Sweden". A simple choice, one assumes.

But the government did not want to make New Sweden an outright penal colony, considering the disciplinary problems involved, and so, on this occasion too, most of the travelers were law-abiding citizens.

The early days were devoted to looking after the sick on board the ships, tending the livestock and unloading the entire cargo of agricultural implements, provisions and merchandise for the Indian trade. Quickly things improved as more colonists arrived with livestock and ample stores. New houses were built for the freemen and their families outside Fort Christina, down towards the Delaware River. Clearings were made in the forest and new land plowed and put down to grain, vegetables and tobacco. Next to the fort, a few craftsmen built a windmill where corn was ground in the fall and winter.

When Pehr Kalm, a pupil of Linnaeus, visited the Delaware region in 1748, old Swedes told him that the first houses built in the colony were small log cabins with low doorways. The chinks in the walls were plugged with clay. Instead of window panes they used sliding wooden shutters in front of the small window openings. The fireplace, of granite or clay, was built in one corner. The oven was also built inside the cottage. There was no damper, and no need for one either, because the winters were neither cold nor long and there was plenty of firewood. In the yard there was a barn, and also a sauna where everybody bathed each Saturday.

One of these cottages was occupied by Olov Stille and his family. They came over with the third expedition and we know more about him than about most of the other emigrants. Stille had been a farmer at Humblö in the Parish of Uppland. The farm belonged to the Lordship of Penningby, and he had succeeded his father, Per Stille, as lessee. In 1636, when visiting Norrtälje Market, Olov had got drunk and spoken "disrespectfully" to the Mistress of Penningby, Katarina Fleming, whose husband, Erik Bielke, had just died.

Stille paid heavily for his indiscretion. His leasehold was terminated and he was stripped of the grain in his fields together with a herring net. Refusing to leave the farm, he was put in the dungeon at Penningby but escaped. Stille then settled in Stockholm but kept in touch with his old farmhand Anders, who had now entered service at Penningby. He induced Anders to cut firewood on the lands of Penningby and take it to Stockholm, where it was sold.

The farm bailiff seized Anders and put him in custody, whereupon Stille entered the farm at night by a secret door, broke open the door of the cell and extricated

Anders. When the farm people tried to intervene, he drew his sword, "spoke defiantly and ran off in the same spirit".

These events are confirmed by the records of the trial which followed in April 1638. After careful deliberation the court sentenced Stille to death for trespassing and robbery. The Appeals Court commuted the sentence to a fine of 100 dalers. We do not know if Stille was faced with the choice of paying the fine or emigrating to New Sweden, but emigrate he did, in the spring of 1641 on board the Charitas. He was accompanied by his wife and their two children, aged seven and eighteen months.

The list of passengers refers to Stille as a millwright, but it also says that he did not require any payment from the Company but wanted to begin farming. Stille became a well-known personality in the small colony and the progenitor of a large Stillé family in America.

Much later, the chaplain Israel Acrelius related that Stille learned to speak to the Indians in their own language. They had a great deal to do with "old man" Stille and gave him a peculiar name with reference to his bushy black beard. Unfortunately, Acrelius does not tell us the nickname.

The First Community

New Sweden in Peter Hollender's time consisted of only about twenty soldiers who, occasionally, were relieved by others from Sweden. All of them were paid by the Company. In addition there were perhaps a dozen freemen (independent farmers) and craftsmen. Not much settlement materialized outside Fort Christina in the early years of the colony, but the fact remains that a small community began to take shape.

Hollender had been instructed by Axel Oxenstierna to govern the people who had settled in New Sweden and to do his utmost for the Company and the Swedish Crown. His orders were to be implicitly obeyed by the people. To maintain his authority, Hollender must have exercised judicial powers of some kind, and there is a lot to suggest that a court was already functioning in the Fort at this time, though all trace of its proceedings has now been obliterated.

The chaplain Reorus Torkillus held services in the Fort at the times prescribed by the Swedish Ecclesiastical law. He began by using one of the houses built by Peter Minuit, but when this became too small for the growing congregation Hollender had a special church erected—the first Lutheran Church building in America. It took the form of a log cabin and, for protection against the Indians, an overhang was built from which the defenders could fire down on the assailants from the second floor of the building. The chaplain Israel

Acrelius, writing the first history of New Sweden in 1759, explains the addition to the building as follows: "The heathen, using only bow and arrow, could do little or nothing to harm them." The interior of the church was furnished in the normal Swedish manner.

In his letters home, Torkillus complained of the insults he received at the hands of the Dutch in the fort, who favored "the Calvinist heresy". The main target of his complaints was apparently the Calvinist Commissioner in the colony, Joost Van Langdonk. These complaints were taken so seriously that they were discussed by the Council in Stockholm. Calm was apparently restored after van Langdonk left the colony and returned to Europe on the Kalmar Nyckel.

The third expedition brought a new chaplain, Master Christoffer, to New Sweden. He had sailed out, as the expression went, to "gain experience and try his fortune". The American historian Christopher Ward maintains that Master Christoffer was a Calvinist cleric and that the two pastors divided the cure of souls between them in personal and theological harmony. Things are unlikely to have been that blissful. The Church of Sweden in the 17th century was a militant denomination. The colony of New Sweden was now entirely Swedish, and in areas where Swedish ecclesiastical law prevailed, only the Lutheran religion was tolerated. The Church of Sweden was also a missionary church, and later on the clergy of New Sweden were able to report home that several Calvinists had abandoned their faith in favor of Lutheranism.

All the indications are that Master Christoffer, coming from Sweden, was a Lutheran minister and was appointed to assist the regular chaplain in tending the congregation. In any case, after a few years he returned to Sweden.

The Church was an important factor of social cohesion and opinion formation in Fort Christina, just as in Sweden. The chaplain was the leading member of the parish. Everybody had to attend services on Sundays, and there were penalties for those who were absent without due cause. In church, the congregation felt as one in relation to the unknown world outside. Conditions for them must have been roughly the same as for the soldiers of Charles XII in their Siberian prison camps.

The pulpit was the parochial news fount. This was where the priest read out the Governor's ordinances and commands, but it was also the place where news from home and victorious bulletins from the battlefields of Germany, reached the colony. The chaplain and Governor were on good terms for the most part, in which case all was quiet in the colony. But the chaplain always regarded himself as the spokesman of his parish in relation to God and higher authorities, and he had to intervene when the Governor was guilty of malpractice. A severe conflict was to flare up in the early 1650's between the chaplain and the secular ruler of the colony, as we shall see.

No villages ever sprang up in New Sweden. The homesteads erected outside the Fort remained isolated units in the depths of the forest. But the colonists never lived far away from their nearest neighbors. They were accustomed from home to helping one another on the land, and they enjoyed getting together for festivals and on solemn occasions. We do not know if parish meetings of the kind commonly held back home were being held in New Sweden at this time, but both the chaplain and the parishioners had an interest in the proper maintenance of the church building and other church property. There must have been mass meetings to decide issues where everybody had to pull their weight. This was the practice in Sweden, and the colonists brought their habits with them to the New World.

Old farm cottage of the type built by the Swedes on the Delaware. Skansen, Stockholm.

In various ways, a sense of social unity and loyalty developed between the emigrants. In this way a tiny Swedish nation developed in America, having a language, religion and traditions of its own to safeguard.

There were powerful neighbors all around. The Swedes were still on good terms with the Indians, and this friendship was to survive as long as they had merchandise to offer them in exchange for beautiful hides and pelts. The Swedes went on long trading voyages to the territory of the Minquas Indians south of the river. Hendrich Huygen had returned to the colony after van Langdonk's return home and once again been appointed Commissioner. On one occasion he traveled 230 miles through the wilderness to renew his old friendship with the Minquas Indians. He was accompanied by Gregorius van Dyck, who spoke their language, together with eight soldiers and an Indian guide. The journey proceeded without any hostilities. On arrival, Huygen presented generous gifts of mirrors, corals, combs and other things to the chieftains, in return for the promise of free access to their country for the Swedes. Unfortunately, competition in the beaver skin trade had reduced the profits.

The Dutch, who were the Swedes' neighbors on the river, greatly disapproved of them as interlopers in the fur trade, which until now had been entirely a Dutch concern. The Dutch company, however, was unwilling to resort to violence, for fear of disrupting relations with Sweden, the new great power of Europe.

And then again, both Swedish and Dutch interests on the river were beginning to feel threatened by a third power—England. In their colony of New Haven in Connecticut, the English had founded a Delaware company to establish colonial settlements and start a fur trade with the Indians. In the spring of 1641 George Lamberton and Captain Nathaniel Turner traveled up the river and purchased a large area of land from two Indian chiefs on the eastern bank. Disregarding Swedish protests, they established a colony and built log cabins for twenty families at Varkens Kill, just below Fort Christina.

Hollender sent Gregorius van Dyck to the new colony to deliver a vigorous protest at the establishment of an English colony on territory previously purchased from the Indians by the Swedes. Lamberton ignored the protest and a few days later sent the frontier stake, pulled up complete with the Swedish coat of arms, to Fort Christina. Lamberton wrote to the Swedes, warning them not to encroach on the newly-established colony.

The English also acquired an area further up the river, at the Schuylkill estuary in Delaware, opposite the Dutch Fort Nassau. They began fur-trading with the Indians on a large scale, which was a grave setback to

both Dutch and Swedes. The matter was reported to the Council in New Amsterdam, which decided to expel the intruders. Two Dutch sloops, carrying guns and soldiers, were sent to the English settlement at Schuylkill in May 1642. The homes and warehouses of the English were burned and the people taken as captives to New Amsterdam. Lamberton managed to escape on board a ship.

For the time being the English colony at Varkens Kill was left alone by the Swedes. It was remote from the fur trade and the farmers were allowed to go on tilling the land. But tension had definitely risen on the Delaware, and this perhaps was the Swedish Government's reason for appointing an experienced soldier to take charge of New Sweden.

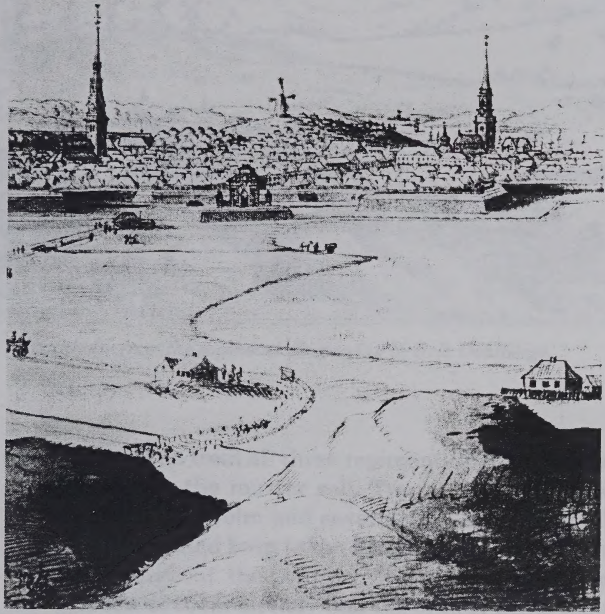
The Men on Board the Ships

In the summer of 1642 the Swedish government decided that two ships—the Svanen and the Fama (sometimes also called the Ängeln)—were to be fitted out for an expedition to New Sweden. They were both Company ships but were soon pressed into the service of the Crown and were to take part, a few years later, in the war with the Danes. The Svanen had eighteen guns, the Fama sixteen, but these were all of small caliber. The ships themselves were fairly small. The Svanen had a deadweight capacity of 165 lasts (about 350 tons). The Fama was probably about the same size.

Provisions and merchandise were purchased in Göteborg and Stockholm, and also in Holland. The ships were loaded with wine and malt, corn and peas, with muskets, shoes and stockings, writing paper, wax and much more. The goods taken on board were primarily intended for trading with the Indians, but some of them were for the benefit of the colony. Live horses, cows and sheep, and perhaps even poultry, were shipped over together with bales of hay.

The ships sailed from Stockholm to Göteborg in mid-August, but then there was a long delay, because the Fama was in bad shape and needed painting and repairing before the voyage. Meanwhile the crew and colonists had to receive board and lodging in Göteborg.

The Swedish military records office includes muster rolls from this expedition. Unique insight into the



Göteborg, showing the Cathedral and Christina Church, after a drawing by Erik Dahlbergh for Suecia Antiqua.

organization of life on board these ships is gained and can be applied to the life on the flagship Wasa which has been recently salvaged.

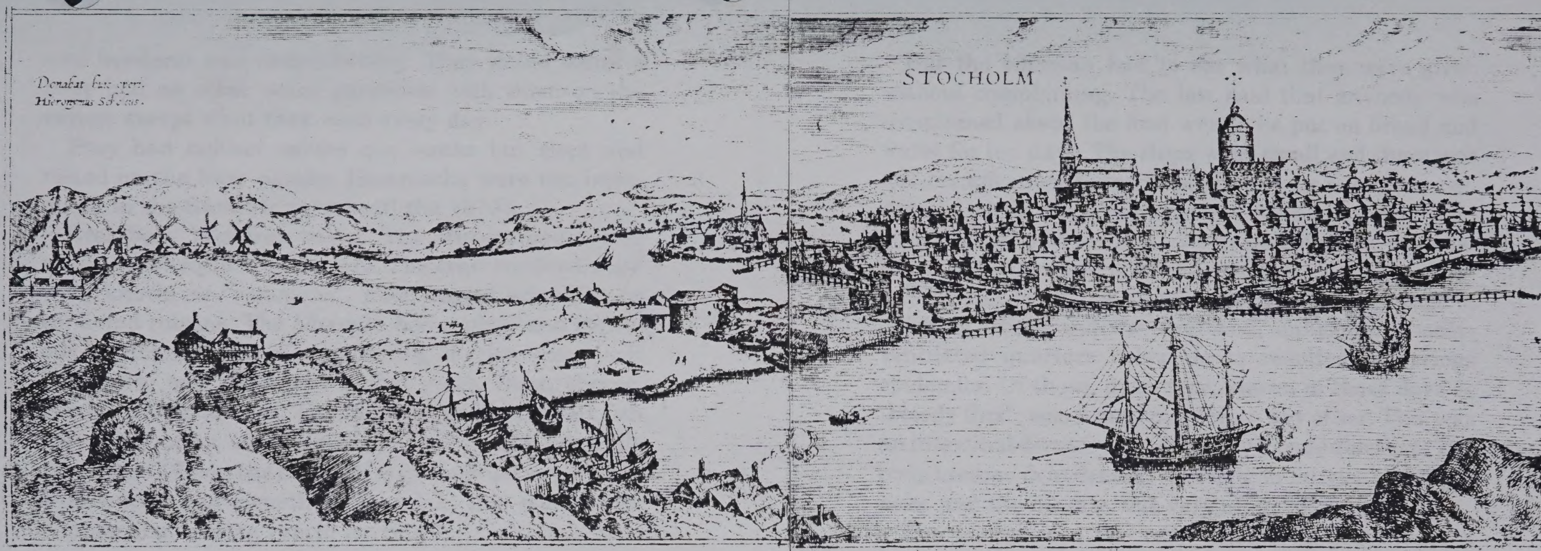
As usual the ships were commanded by Dutchmen. The master of the Svanen was Lambert Pietersen, with Steffen Willemsen as first mate. The Fama was captained by Thering Hindricksen with Peter Povelsen as first mate. Both first mates came from the town of Edam near the Zuidersee.

In addition to the captain and first mate, the crew of the Svanen numbered 37, that of the Fama 35. Each ship had two bosuns, to assist the officers, and two "constables" in charge of the artillery. Six of these were Swedes, and two were Germans. Each ship had a Dutch pantryman (*skaffare*) responsible for provisioning and a cook. One cook, called Peter Petersen was from Hamburg, and the other Påvel Nilsson Vogel was from Stockholm.

The two carpenters—Tomas Jöransson from Finland and Anders Johansson from Stockholm—had their hands full on board, as too did the Stockholm sailmaker Johan Hansson on board the Fama. Each ship also had a barber surgeon who attended to wounds, arm and leg fractures and other injuries. The surgeon on board the Svanen was Matthias Burmester from Stralsund, and his colleague on the Fama was a Swede, Peter Bergfot.

Whereas the officers had signed on for the voyage in return for a monthly salary, the ordinary seamen were marines. Most of them had been seconded for the voyage. The *båtsmanshållet* system of quartering sailors in the country had been introduced in Sweden by Gustavus Adolphus. Under this system, four farmers were required to share the cost of equipping and maintaining a *båtsman*. The organization was established along the far-flung coastline of Småland (plus the island of Öland), Östergötland, Södermanland, Uppland, Hälsingland, Medelpad, Ångermanland, Åland and Finland. In addition, the towns undertook to provide a certain number of sailors.

At this time there were approximately 3,400 *båtsmän*, divided into three regiments from certain towns and regions. The 55 *båtsmän* on board the Svanen and Fama


Donabat hoc opere.
Hieronymus Scholus.
STOCHOLM

Stockholm from the southeast. Engraving by Erik Dahlbergh.

had been taken from all three regiments and were listed accordingly in the muster roll. Two of them had been taken from Stockholm and seven from Göteborg, while the remainder had been taken from various regions and towns throughout the country. Eight came from Finland. A few of them already had the typical picturesque surnames which could be given to soldiers on enlistment: Geting (Wasp), Stare (Starling), Palm and Glasbit (Cullet).

No doubt the *båtsmän* went on board the America-bound ships with the greatest reluctance. Like the other colonists, they were extremely fearful of the long Atlantic crossing and the fate in store for them in dangerous waters. There was also the realization of rough treatment to be expected on board. We do not know how many *båtsmän*, faced with these dismal prospects, opted for desertion, but some indication is afforded by a master roll for the 1643 New Sweden expedition. That year 55 *båtsmän* were picked for the two ships bound for America, but not less than 18 of them are listed as having deserted. Several of them had fled during the voyage, when the ships put in to Friesland in the Netherlands. New sailors had to be signed on to replace them.

The *båtsmän* wore jackets and breeches of broadcloth, usually blue. When autumn came, the cold was frequently a trial on board the unheated ships, and so for additional warmth they wore a linen tabby shirt, a pair of long woolen or linen tabby stockings and a pair of stout grained-leather shoes. They had to provide their

own headgear and underclothing. They would seem to have had no other outer garments with them on the voyage except what they wore every day.

They had neither cabins nor bunks but slept and rested on the bare planks. Hammocks were not introduced in the Swedish navy until the 1670's.

Everybody had free board. The officers had better meals in the form of cabin fare. The crew received what were known as "commons". Food varied according to rank and routine. The *båtsmän* had a plain and generous but monotonous diet consisting of crisp bread, salt fish, pork, salt meat and hulled grain, flour, cheese, butter, peas and beer. The large quantities of salt fish and meat often caused scurvy. One of the admirals remarked: "When the *båtsman* is given gruel or porridge with butter and something to drink, this makes him happier than eating rancid herring."

The barber's pestle and mortar, salvaged with the flagship Wasa. Wasa Museum, Stockholm.

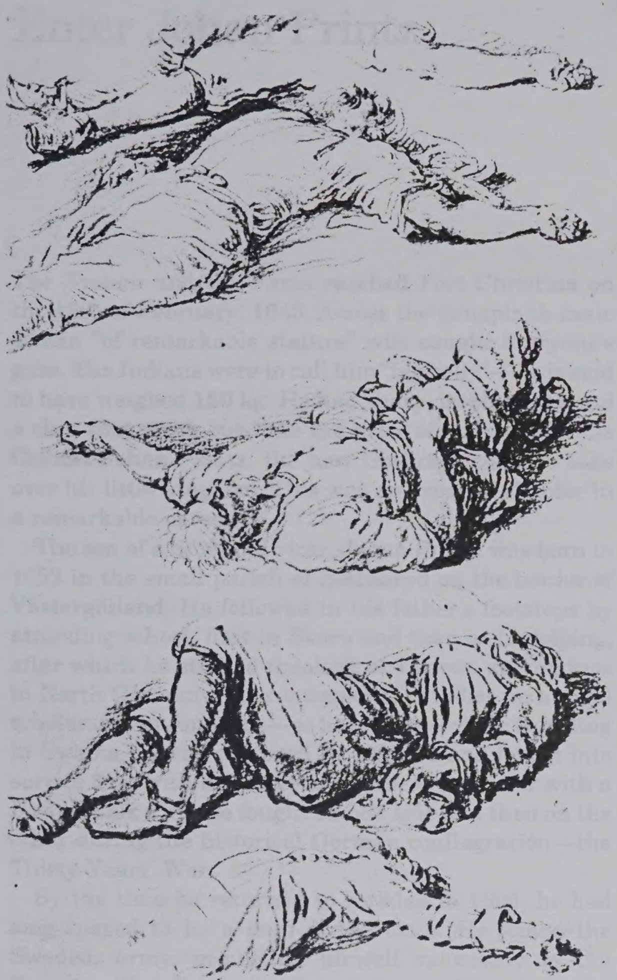
But the *båtsmän* had to eat what they were given without complaining. The law said that anybody who complained about the food was to be put on bread and water for ten days. The ships were small and there was not enough space to lay in provisions for a long voyage. After a while the fresh supplies were exhausted, and once the beer and the fresh water had all gone, those on board would have to drink rain water.

Sooner or later, the monotonous diet, the shortage of drinking water and the wretched, unhygienic, badly-ventilated quarters below decks resulted in serious epidemics. Of these, dysentery, known in those days as "bloody flux", was feared more than any other. This was an intestinal disease manifested by bloody diarrhea. The body became dehydrated, resulting in fatigue and dizziness, and the disease was very often fatal.

The barber was the only person on board with a knowledge of medicine. He could bleed the patients, make them sweat and vomit, and give them laxatives. He also tended wounds, lanced boils and set fractures. Sometimes he also had to perform amputations. But there was little he could do about bloody flux. In his sea chest he had a number of powders and syrups to stem the disease. Some of these medicaments contained pomegranate peel, red and white corals, gum arabic, dragon's blood (a resin from a canary fruit) and twenty or more other ingredients. Perhaps he also used emetics and diuretics.

But dysentery was due primarily to lack of personal hygiene, and there was little that could be done about this on board a ship with overcrowded quarters, with no facilities for washing or laundry, and with lice and other vermin an inseparable part of everyday life.

Life on board was strictly regimented. A close-knit working organization was needed, rigidly disciplined and firmly united by a common Lutheran faith. Sermons



Sick and wounded Swedish soldiers. Drawing by Johan Philip Lemke in his sketch book in Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.

were preached every Sunday and holiday, and also once or twice during the week. Everybody had to attend services. Any member of the crew neglecting to do so could be flogged "in the presence of all on board". Anyone taking the name of God in vain would incur the same penalty.

While serving on board the ships, the *båtsmän* came under ship's articles. These were a long succession of penal provisions for every kind of crime and misdemeanor, issued at first in the 16th century. Their central aim was the maintenance of discipline on board. Anybody refusing to obey an order given by an officer would be keelhauled for the first offense and shot for the second. Anybody drawing a sword or knife on board ship and wounding another person was condemned to death. Attempted desertion was punished by flogging, and so was attempted stealing. Judicial proceedings were conducted by the ship's captain.

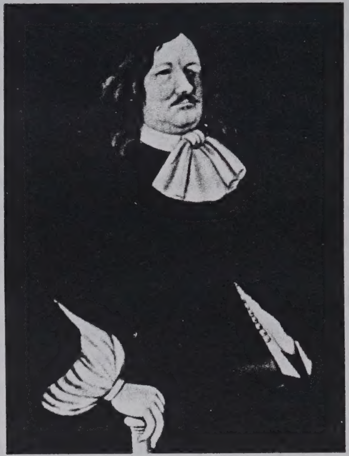
It was a group of rigidly disciplined, closely supervised *båtsmän* that helped to sail the two ships westwards to the new country on the other side of the Atlantic.

Enter Johan Printz

The Svanen and the Fama reached Fort Christina on the 15th of February, 1643. Across the gangplank came a man "of remarkable stature" who caught everyone's gaze. The Indians were to call him "big belly"—he is said to have weighed 150 kg. He had sharp, iceblue eyes and a chin that stuck out "like the prow of a ship". He was Colonel Johan Printz, the new Governor come to take over his little kingdom. This was an eventful chapter in a remarkable career.

The son of a Småland vicar, Johan Printz was born in 1592 in the small parish of Bottnaryd on the border of Västergötland. He followed in his father's footsteps by attending school, first in Skara and then in Linköping, after which he studied theology at various universities in North Germany. He continued his studies on a royal scholarship in Jena, but—so he tells us—while traveling in Swabia he was captured by soldiers and forced into service first with an Imperial regiment and later with a Danish one. First he fought on one side and then on the other during the historical German conflagration—the Thirty Years' War.

By the time he returned to Sweden in 1625, he had long ceased to be a man of the cloth. He joined the Swedish army, acquitting himself valorously in the Prussian War. Five years later he was a Captain in the Finnish cavalry; he learned to speak Finnish and proved himself a talented quartermaster. He took part in the German war and in 1636 was taken prisoner by the Imperial forces but purchased his release for 800 riksdalers, which shows that he was a man who had learned to conserve the fortunes of war.



Governor Johan Printz. Portrait at Bottnaryd Parsonage.

Two years afterwards he was transferred as a colonel with the Västgöta cavalry. In time he would doubtless have been given command of the regiment, but his military career was dramatically curtailed. During the spring of 1639 he and his Västgöta cavalry were fighting in Saxony under General Johan Banér. They stormed and captured the town of Chemnitz, and Banér made Printz commander of the Swedish garrison.

This gave Printz the task of defending the town with a tiny force of 270 cavalry and 50 infantry, manning defences that had already been shot to pieces. It was no easy undertaking, but both soldiers and citizens were put to work repairing the fortifications. The following spring 7,000 Imperial troops laid siege to the town. The

first Imperial attempt to storm the town was repulsed, and according to the record of the trial that eventually followed, Printz addressed the following words to his exhausted troops: "My valiant cavaliers, let us not abandon one another or our standards while we still have life, for if we lose them, none of us will dare set foot in Sweden again."

The cavalry replied that they would live and die as cavalrymen with their standards in the open field, but that they were not accustomed to manning the walls of fortresses and for six days and five nights they had not been relieved at their posts. The populace was unfriendly and, following a council of war with his four officers, Printz found himself obliged to surrender with the promise of safe conduct. The regimental standards had to be left behind.

Printz elected to accompany his regiment to Sweden, possibly because he misinterpreted the orders received but probably for fear of punishment at the hands of a furious Johan Banér. In Stockholm he was incarcerated in the grim Smedjegården prison in the Norrmalm district. Court martial proceedings were opened with reference both to the surrender of Chemnitz and to Printz' returning home without a permit or a pass. Judgment was not returned until the spring of 1641. Printz was entirely absolved of responsibility for the surrender, but the Privy Council, headed by Axel Oxenstierna, deprived him of his military command as a cautionary example to disobedient officers.

After more than a year's inactivity, Printz was reinstated by the Privy Council. In the meantime he had helped the New Sweden Company to recruit colonists, and he was now given his reward. In the summer of 1642 he was made a noble "for meritorious services" and appointed Governor of New Sweden. This reinstatement may seem surprising, but Printz had made a name for

himself as a sensible, practical and energetic soldier. As Axel Oxenstierna saw it these were the very qualifications needed for the colony since tension had suddenly risen on the Delaware.

Printz had no choice but to accept this appointment on the other side of the world. New Sweden represented a last chance to restore his good name and fortune. He was well aware of the ruthless nature of the contest for official appointments in Sweden at the time, and he was eager to show his paces.

At several meetings of the Privy Council there had been serious discussion concerning the future of New Sweden. A perturbing situation confronted the New Sweden Company—now entirely Swedish—which had to maintain the colony out of its revenues from the American trade. Expeditions to and from the New World had resulted in heavy losses for the owners of the Company. In 1642 the Company had been reorganized with fresh capital, and once again Oxenstierna and Clas Fleming were the main shareholders. Something would have to be done about this unprofitable colony.

Clas Fleming took the view that the Crown must help, since the Company alone was incapable of sustaining the colony. He was supported by Axel Oxenstierna, who represented both the government and the shareholders. The colony, he declared, had been established for the benefit of the Crown, its purposes being to improve trade, break new land, provide maritime experience and disseminate the Lutheran faith. And besides, if more people were deployed "we could subjugate the entire country".

These ideas were present in the instructions which Printz received from the government. As sole ruler of the colony, Printz was to punish all heretics and deliver judgment in accordance with Swedish law. The Christian faith was to be preached in keeping with the true

Augsburg Confession and the uses of the Church of Sweden. Printz was also to keep the fur trade "in good being" and was not to allow anybody but the Company's authorized agents to trade with the Indians.

Printz was to behave in a friendly manner towards the Indians, protect them from violence and injustice and teach them the Christian faith. He was also to maintain good friendship and neighborliness with the Dutch and English colonists who had settled on the river. But if the Dutch continued to press their claims to territories on the river and if they tried to prevent the Swedes from sailing past Fort Nassau, he was to make it clear to them that Her Majesty's government desired peaceful trade. If this did not work, he was to oppose violence with violence.

If possible, Printz was to establish a new strongpoint further down the river. He was to try to prevail on the English colonists at Varkens Kill to place themselves under Swedish sovereignty.

The instructions also included many other provisions concerning Printz' management of the colony. He was to encourage agriculture and to make sure that tobacco was grown, so that a good cargo could be sent back with every returning ship. He was to raise beef cattle and sheep, taken over from Sweden, and if necessary he was to purchase livestock from the neighbors. The instructions also referred to a number of other useful activities which he was to undertake: the construction of saltpans, viniculture, prospecting for metals along the river, cutting timber for export, breeding silkworms and whaling.

The instructions made it clear that New Sweden was no longer just a trading post and in the future was to be run on the lines of an agricultural colony. The government had taken a firm hold of its territory in America, which if possible was to expand and become the only territory on the Delaware. The New Sweden Trading Company had, in reality become a governmental organization.

To help him in the discharge of his duties, Printz was to be assisted by a staff of officials: a commissioner, a clerk, a priest and a surgeon on the civilian side and, on the military side, four lieutenants, two constables, a master of the watch, a trumpeter, a drummer, twenty-four soldiers and a provost or executioner. Altogether about forty people were to assist him in running the colony, and there were another fifty or more to do the heavy chores.

A large share of the expenses incurred by the colony was to be borne by the government of Sweden. The Governor and some of the officials were salaried out of government funds, while the Board of Admiralty was responsible for fitting out the ships and paying the officers and crew. The clergy in New Sweden were regarded as army chaplains and were also paid by the government. Johan Beijer, the Company's secretary and treasurer in Sweden, did not receive any pay from the Company, because he was also Postmaster General and editor of Sweden's oldest newspaper, the official "Ordinari Post-tijdender".

But still the Swedes did not want to emigrate, and so, as usual, coersive measures had to be employed and burn-beating Finns and soldiers convicted of desertion were transported to the new colony. A Finnish soldier, Anders Andersson, sentenced to serve in the colony was removed from the fortress of Älvsborg. So too was a book-keeper, Johan Fransson of Viborg, who elected to serve his sentence for an unknown crime in New Sweden. There were a number of people whom Printz had personally selected, among them a soldier called Mickel Olofsson from the Lifeguards in Stockholm, whom Printz took with him by special permission of the War Office. All the soldiers recruited for the voyage were

Swedes. The plan was for the Dutch soldiers in New Sweden to be replaced and for the garrison of Fort Christina to be entirely Swedish.

Printz was accompanied by his wife and several children. His company also included a number of young officers attracted to New Sweden by sheer love of adventure. They included Johan Papegoja (“Parrot”), who was to be the Governor’s right-hand man and who married his temperamental daughter Armegott—it turned out to be a very tempestuous, unhappy marriage. Then there was Christer Boije, a skillful naval officer who was to return home after a few years, eventually becoming Vice Admiral of the Swedish Navy. Sven Skute, a Lieutenant with the Turku and Björneborg County cavalry, was also to do very good work in the colony. On one occasion Skute returned home to Sweden to collect his wife, Anna Johansdotter, from their quarters at Näsby in the Parish of Dingtuna, Västmanland. The two of them spent the rest of their lives in America.

Johan Beijer had recruited a smith by the name of Mickel Nilsson to search for metals in the new country. The ships were loaded with the usual supplies needed by the colony—muskets, shoes and stockings, writing paper, wine, malt, grain and lots more. But this time there was no merchandise for trading with the Indians; there had not been time to lay in any such stocks before setting out. As usual there were horses, cows, sheep and poultry on board. A special breed of Swedish cattle was eventually to evolve on the Delaware.

Also on board was a forty-year-old clergyman, Johan Campanius Holm, who was destined to play an important part in the history of New Sweden. He had been chaplain and teacher at the Norrmalm orphanage in Stockholm. He was a writer, and he tells us that he accepted the invitation to accompany Printz across the Atlantic out of a desire to “visit foreign countries by travelling”. He was determined to propagate the Gospel among the Indians. Later on he was to write a brief narrative of the outward voyage on board the Fama, and this is in fact the earliest account in Swedish of these voyages.

Campanius had come on board in Stockholm. On the 16th of August, 1642 they set off for America “in the name of the Lord”. Copenhagen was passed on the 3rd of September, Helsingör (Elsinore) on the 8th. On the 12th they put in to Göteborg, and then they put out again at midday on the 1st of November. They sailed through the English channel and along the coast of Portugal. In keeping with an old tradition, when they crossed the Equator anybody doing so for the first time was given a ducking. But, Campanius tells us, those who paid a gratuity got off with a splashing.

Mild trade winds wafted them over the Atlantic. They spent Christmas at Antigua, a small island in the Lesser Antilles of the West Indies, just off the coast of Venezuela, “where it is always summer and never winter”. The island was inhabited by Englishmen and Moors (blacks) and a number of Indian kept as slaves. The Governor gave them a hospitable reception, allowing them to take as many Seville oranges and lemons as they were able to carry. Campanius records that their stay on the island afforded pleasant recreation.

They then sailed past many islands situated close together—St. Kitt’s, St. Bartholomew and St. Martin—but after this they ran into stormy weather, sleet and snow lasting for more than two weeks. Indeed, the weather was so violent that the Fama lost her main mast, the spritsail and three large anchors. The other ship, the Svanen, was also damaged, but nevertheless, “thanks be to God,” they reached Fort Christina at two o’clock in the afternoon on the 15th of February, 1643. Their voyage had taken them three and a half months, which was considered a fairly normal sailing time.

The flag was flying on Fort Christina and a trumpet call was sounded. Peter Hollender stood on the shore together with the chaplain, Torkillus, and Master Christoffer, surrounded by colonists assembled to greet the new Governor. Printz wrote in his report home: "It is a country of remarkable beauty, with all the splendors man on earth could wish for." He was now to serve this country for more than ten years.

Enlarging the Colony

The day after his arrival at Fort Christina, Johan Printz formally took command of the small colony. The newly arrived colonists gathered in the Fort with their belongings and implements, but they were very eager to begin building houses and plowing the land. Shortly afterwards Printz got into a boat together with Hollender and some soldiers and went on a tour of inspection which took in the entire territory of New Sweden along the Delaware River. During this voyage he chose suitable spots for the freemen to settle, at the same time choosing locations for strongpoints to defend the area.

The construction of defenses became one of the Governor's prime concerns. At Varkens Kill, near the point where Salem Creek enters the Delaware, on the eastern shore of the river, he had a strong fort constructed which was given the name of New Elfsborg. This was to dominate all shipping on the river, and accordingly it was given large ramparts with three corners and a magnificent gateway directly on the shore. Eight three pounders of iron and bronze and a mortar—the biggest piece of artillery in the colony—were positioned on the ramparts, and the fort was garrisoned by thirteen soldiers and gunners under Printz' second-in-command, Sven Skute.

Fort Elfsborg was completed in October 1643. The commander was required to salute Swedish vessels sailing up river, but also to require all foreign vessels to

lower their colors and heave to pending permission from the Swedish Governor to continue on to old trading stations. As they waited here, their cargoes could be examined by soldiers from the fort. Dutch and English merchants, accustomed to unrestricted trade with the Indians on the Delaware, were greatly embittered by the building of New Elfsborg.

There were several English families—altogether about sixty people—living at Varkens Kill. They had settled there to farm the land. They too were perturbed by the new fort and its consequences. Printz' instructions from the Swedish Government required him to leave the English alone but to try and persuade them to freely accept Swedish sovereignty. It was said that they were not opposed to the idea, but they asserted that their settlement would soon number several hundred. The Swedish government felt it was best to try and resettle them "courteously".

Printz evidently visited the English colony during his first voyage along the Delaware. He reported home that disease was rife among the colonists and that the colony was breaking up. The remaining English settlers appeared by all accounts willing to swear allegiance to the Swedish Crown. There would continue to be Englishmen at Varkens Kill.

At the outset Printz lived at Fort Christina, but the Government had given him permission to choose a site for an official residence. With the sure eye of the professional soldier he chose Tinicum Island, a small, steep island a short distance south of Philadelphia, not far from what is now the town of Chester. From here he could control shipping in the upper reaches of the Delaware and at the same time keep an eye on the Indians on the landward side. Here he built a new fort, New Göteborg, which was completed in the autumn of 1643. This fort was armed with twelve copper guns, capable of keeping the entire river under fire, and was garrisoned with twelve men.

As a defense on the other landward side, Printz built a stout magazine with loopholes.

On the island the Governor built his residence, which he called Printzhof or Printz Hall. It was built of hewn logs, probably two stories high, and fitted with open fireplaces and chimneys of brick as well as glazed windows; both the brick and the windows had been brought over from Sweden. This was a luxurious home by local standards. There were curtains for the windows and candlesticks on the tables. There were all sorts of things made of gold, silver, copper and pewter; there was beautiful clothing; there were well-filled storehouses; there was a library valued at 200 riksdalers.

Outside the house itself was a garden, complete with summer house, and a tobacco plantation. By the shore a small sloop was moored, ready to convey the Governor round his little kingdom. He lived like a Swedish landed nobleman, surrounded by servants and laborers. The leading freemen also settled on this island, which became one of the most densely populated parts of New Sweden.

Printz had several other, smaller fortifications constructed to protect the settlements he had designated. On the western shore of the Delaware, in what is now Chester, was the settlement of Uppland, and on a hill close by it he built a log cabin, garrisoned by a number of soldiers under Christer Boije.

A little bit north of New Göteborg, at Cobb's Creek, Printz built a dam and a water mill complete with millstones. This was operated by Anders Dreijer the miller, and the colonists brought their grain here to be turned into flour. For defense purposes, a log blockhouse was built nearby and—a pun alluding to milling as well as to a Swedish place name—called Mölndal.

Watermill of the kind constructed by the people of New Sweden. Skansen, Stockholm.

The old Swedish blockhouse on the Schuylkill River, further up the Delaware, had been intended for protection from the Indians and was not capable of controlling shipping on the river. Printz had a new fort built to replace it on an island in the Schuylkill. Blocks and timbers were taken there and the building was practically complete by the spring of 1647. It was solidly built and effectively dominated trade and shipping on the Schuylkill. Måns Kling, who had been in command at the blockhouse, was now stationed here with a gunner and some soldiers. The fort was given the name of New Korsholm.

Fort Christina was also refurbished and now had the same garrison as before. The main storehouse—the colony's principal supply depot—was located here, and so too was the wharf for the merchant vessels.

The freemen were gradually settled in various new clearings along the river. The Company also had its own farmlands tended by laborers. And the colony also had what are called *"slavare"*. These evidently were not black slaves but white men and women who had been transported to New Sweden or indentured with the Company.

There was activity everywhere. Everywhere could be heard the ring of axe on timber. Trees were felled, log cabins were built and land brought under the plow. Grain, maize and tobacco were grown in the clearings. Seed—rye, barley and wheat—had been brought over from Sweden. In June 1644 Printz wrote home that "the grain is now a feast for the eye". The Governor had been particularly encouraged to address himself to tobacco growing, which was the Company's main source of revenue apart from the fur trade. There were three big tobacco plantations in New Sweden. The biggest of all was at Uppland, and the other two were at Christina and Schuylkill. A special Tobacco Master, with a monthly salary of 25 florins, was appointed to teach the people to grow this tall plant.

Keeping horses and cattle alive on the long voyage out was not always easy. In the spring of 1643 Printz sent his confidant Hendrick Huygen and Christer Boije on a trading expedition on board the sloop to buy livestock from the Dutch settlers of Manhattan, New Amsterdam. They returned with seven oxen and a cow, which made a welcome addition to the herd. The sheep in the colony multiplied rapidly, and the pigs raised in the forests grew so wild that when they were needed the Swedes had to shoot them.

Printz Reports on New Sweden

As soon as the Fama and Svanen put out from Göteborg in November 1642, Clas Fleming was busy fitting out a new expedition for New Sweden. Goods were purchased in Holland and put in storage in the port of Göteborg. There were articles of clothing, shoes, stockings and shirts, copper kettles, saw blades for a sawmill, drills, grindstones and millstones. He had cloth purchased for Swedish flags and ten gilt knobs for the flag poles to be put up on the forts along the Delaware.

The warehouses also contained provisions and good things to drink: 200 bushels of flour, 10 hogsheads (2,360 litres) of French wine and one hogshead of brandy. All the minor articles to be used in trading with the Indians were stored here.

As soon as the Fama returned from her voyage to America, in the summer of 1643, the government decided that she was to take part in the new expedition. The well-proven Kalmar Nyckel was appointed her sister ship. The Fama was captained by Peter Paulsen from Edam in Holland, and the Kalmar Nyckel by Berendt Hermansson Hopp. After the cargo was stowed on board, the ships were at last able, after some fuss and bother, to put out from Göteborg on the 29th of December, 1643.

Amandus Johnson, the eminent historian of New Sweden, believes that only the Fama sailed to the Swedish colony. The two ships parted before they reached American waters, whereupon the Kalmar Nyckel made her way to the West Indies to purchase tobacco and then returned directly to Europe. Captain Hopp had proposed this kind of trade, and the ship's cargo included large quantities of timber, tar and woodwork for trading in the islands.

The fact is, however, that both ships sailed to the port of Christina. This is apparent from a document in the maritime expedition's records in the Swedish Military Record Office—a list "uber alla Seelen" ("of all souls") who sailed on the two ships Kalmar Nyckel and Fama to New Sweden on the 29th of December, 1643. The list contains muster rolls of the crews of both ships and of "those who are to remain in the country over there".

Both the Fama and the Kalmar Nyckel were carrying colonists. Johan Papegoja was returning on board the Kalmar Nyckel from a visit to Sweden, together with Walle Looer (Valerius Lohe) of Jönköping, one of the few soldiers he had managed to recruit at home for the colony. Papegoja later recalled that their voyage took two months and that Virginia was sighted on the 27th of February. And Michael Johansson, a sailor from Stockholm, wrote in a letter home in 1646 that he had accompanied the Kalmar Nyckel on its voyage to Virginia. His name is on the muster rolls.

As usual, it had been difficult to find people who would settle in the new colony. Suggestions were made in the Privy council that New Sweden be used as a penal colony for timber thieves and unruly soldiers. Only about ten colonists accompanied the ships. They included three young noblemen, all thirsting for adventure: Christian Tott and the brothers Knut and Per Lilliehöök. All three became soldiers. Tott and Per Lilliehöök are mentioned in the 1644 muster roll but then disappear from the

colony without trace. Knut, on the other hand, returned home after four years, finishing up as a lieutenant in the Dalarna Regiment. He died in 1660.

Others wanting to settle in the country were Margareta Andersdotter from Arboga and her one-year-old daughter Christina, and two boys: Sven Svensson and Börje Persson. One of the soldiers, Anders Jönsson from Jönköping, came to a bad end. In 1653 he was sentenced to death for subversion against Governor Printz and executed.

Also on board the Fama was a Königsberg military surgeon, Hans Janeke, who served as barber on the voyage and brought with him several medicine chests.

The ships put in at Christina in mid-March 1644, the colonists went ashore and the goods were unloaded onto the wharf. When, three months later, the Fama set out for home again, she carried a cargo of beaver skins and tobacco. Some of the tobacco had been bought in Virginia, some from the English settlers at Varkens Kill, while the remainder was grown and sold by the freemen of New Sweden.

Meanwhile the Kalmar Nyckel called at the West Indies where, in May, a large quantity of tobacco was purchased at the island of St. Kits. This cargo was later sold in Amsterdam, where the two ships were seized and kept until the war between Sweden and Denmark came to an end. It was not until June 1645 that they returned to Göteborg and the muster rolls were sent to the Board of Admiralty.

The Fama also carried an official report from Printz "to the most excellent West Indian Company in Old Sweden, submitted from New Sweden on the 11th of June, 1644". This report included an exhaustive list of the colony's inhabitants—our first authentic information about the colonists, their jobs and their housing.

Mortality had been high. No fewer than 26 people had died in 1643 and 1644. They included an officer—corporal Carl Håkansson of New Elfsborg—eight soldiers, two freemen, twelve laborers, two women and the chaplain Reorus Torkillus, the first minister in New Sweden. Most of them had died of epidemics and unaccustomed rigors of the climate, but seven met with violent ends, six having been killed by Indians, while the colonist Johan Finne had drowned in the river at the Uppland settlement.

There were now only ninety adult men left in the colony together with a few women and children. The officers and soldiers were divided between the various forts and blockhouses, while the civilians lived in the clearings. There were at least 34 colonists living in or around Fort Christina. Of these only three were soldiers on guard, and eleven worked on the tobacco plantation. One of them was Peter Gunnarsson Rambo, destined to be the founder of a large American clan.

Other residents of Fort Christina included the powerful Commissioner Hendrick Huygen, the new chaplain Johan Campanius, the surgeon Hans Janeke and the smith, Master Hans Rosbach. In addition to carpenters, coopers and the crew of the sloop, there were the swineherd Andreas Mink and his son Clas, and the young Sven Svensson, who kept an eye on the livestock.

New Elfsborg was only inhabited by soldiers. But new Korsholm—the uppermost fort at the confluence of the Schuylkill and the Delaware—was a settlement, and the soldiers cultivated tobacco as well. They include Anders Dalbo and Peter Cock, both of whom have numerous American descendents. There was another settlement, with eleven tobacco planters, at Uppland including Tobacco Master Elias Tobaksplanterare.

New Göteborg on the island of Tinicum was the administrative center of the colony. Here the bookkeeper Carl Jansson was in charge of provisions and

accounts, assisted by Knut Persson. Mast Niklas, the gunsmith, was responsible for the maintenance and repair of weapons. The Governor kept a daily bodyguard of eight soldiers. Another four men living here cut hay for the cattle and accompanied Printz on the small yacht. They included Anders Bonde (Boon), who was also to be the founder of an American dynasty.

The colony was obviously doing well. The tobacco harvest was plentiful and the colonists had adopted the new habit of sowing a winter grain crop. The rye had to be fertilized, and the oxen purchased in New Amsterdam came in handy for this purpose. The cattle were brought to New Sweden by Dutchmen who were paid in beaver pelts.

The colonists' activities included cattle farming and fishing as well as arable farming. Due to the shortage of women, the men also had to do the milking and other "women's jobs".

Printz also complied with his instructions as regards to establishing small industries. He had a shipyard constructed near Fort Christina, and here he built two "fine large" boats, one to be used at Christina and the other at Fort Elfsborg. These were the first boats to be built on the Delaware. He regretted that he had not yet had time to comply with the instructions regarding salt panning, whaling, mineral prospecting and silkworm breeding.

What New Sweden needed, he wrote in his report, was men and weapons. He asked for a hundred cuirasses "on account of the arrows of the savages" and cannon balls of various sizes, as well as gunpowder and shot. For his own part he deplored the practice of his European neighbors writing to him in Latin to which he had to reply in the same language. This did not come easily. For 27 years his hands had been occupied more with musket and pistols than with Tacitus and Cicero, and he asked to be given a clerk who knew Latin and could advise him well in such matters.

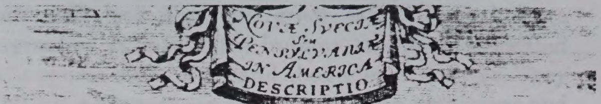
This, then, was the report which Johan Printz sent on to his superiors, hoping for a favorable reply.

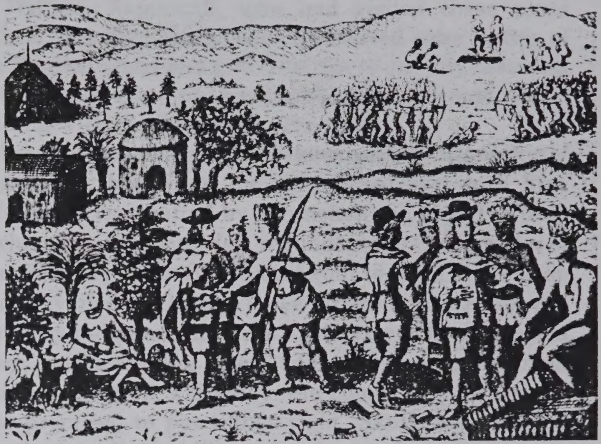
Neighbors on the River

In June 1643 an obstinate English merchant, George Lamberton, sailed up the Delaware on his ship, The Cock, dropping anchor 5 km. upstream of Fort Christina. Lamberton was employed by the United English Colonies of Connecticut, New Haven, Plymouth and Massachusetts to trade with the Indians for furs. He had already been at loggerheads with the Swedes, concerning the English settlement at Varkens Kill and to Printz he must have been persona non grata on the river.

The Swedish Governor ordered Lamberton to pay what was called a recognition charge of twenty per cent for the right to trade in Swedish territory. Lamberton protested. On the morning of the 26th of June Printz was visited by two Swedes, the surgeon Thomas Stidden and Commissioner Huygens' assistant Gotfried Harmer, who accused Lamberton of trying to bribe the Indians to murder all the Swedish and Dutch settlers and burn their houses.

Printz immediately had Lamberton and his men arrested. For three days they were imprisoned at Fort Christina, and were only released in return for their promise to attend the court of inquiry to be held by Printz at the fort on the 10th of July. The special court appointed to examine the charges against Lamberton consisted of Swedish magistrates and four Dutch assessors, among them the Dutch Commander of Fort Nassau, Jan Jansen van Ilpendam.





This engraving, illustrating the friendly relations between Indians and Swedes, comes from Thomas Campanius Holm's book on New Sweden, published in 1702. In the background can be seen three Indian homes, Indians fighting each other, and an Indian funeral.

The first question was whether the English had a title to the land on the Schuylkill River. Lamberton claimed that two years previously he had bought an area there from the Indians after a suggestion from Jan Jansen, but the Dutchman volubly denied this and accused Lamberton of lying. At the request of the court, Printz produced documents showing that, much earlier, the Swedes had purchased the land on the western side north to Sankikan, including Shuylkill.

The next issue concerned ownership of the land

around Varkens Kill. Lamberton declared that he had bought this area from the Indians, but Gregorius van Dyck was able to establish that he had acquired the land on the eastern side for Sweden before Lamberton arrived. Printz came forward accusing Lamberton of defying a prohibition by trading with the Indians and buying an immense quantity of beaver pelts from them next to the ramparts of Fort Christina. Lamberton admitted this but said that he did not know of any prohibition against trading.

The court also considered charges leveled against Lamberton of trying to induce the Indians to murder Swedes and Dutchmen. Thomas Stidden and Gotfried Harmer testified that they heard the Indians say so. Per Cock and Anders Bonde had heard the same thing. One day large numbers of Indians gathered outside Fort Christina, but when the Swedes trained the artillery on them they fled into the woods, shrieking loudly.

Lamberton was only prepared to admit that he had given the Indians presents to make them sell their pelts to him. The court, while not disposed to question the truthfulness of the testimony, decided to let the matter pass for lack of proof. It took a firmer line concerning the title to land on the Delaware. Disallowing Lamberton's claim, it declared he had no title on the river. And it ordered him to pay a double recognition charge for the 400 beaver pelts he bought from the Indians.

This judicial handling of the matter evidently won Printz the respect of his European neighbors. In the fall of 1643 he corresponded with the English Governor in New Haven, John Winthrop, who replied amicably. This apparently marked the end of disputes for the time being.

The following year there was another incident. A number of English merchants had formed a company in Boston to go on a voyage of discovery up the Delaware River and look for "the great lake". According to imaginative tales from the Indians, the lake was located at the source of the river and abounded in beavers. They fitted out a pinnace—a river boat—with provisions and merchandise and put the expedition under the command of William Aspinwall, who had visited these parts before. The Swedish Governor received prior notice of the English plans and promised not to put any obstacles in their way, since the English merchants would not be trading with the Indians on the river.

Aspinwall sailed into the Delaware at the beginning of June 1644, but when his ship came level with Fort Elfsborg it was halted by a gunshot and forced to drop anchor. The following day, a Sunday, the Commander of Fort Elfsborg, Sven Skute, came out to them in his sloop and prevailed on them to move further away. Aspinwall was very indignant at Skute's behavior in first firing on them before hailing them and then forcing them to weigh anchor on a Sunday. He complained to Printz, who promised to put things right. Skute was made to pay Aspinwall 40 shillings for the rough treatment.

The boat was now able to continue, but on reaching Fort Nassau it was halted again. The Dutch commander was obdurate and refused to let the Englishman continue. They were forced to return to Boston, the company was ruined and no new expedition materialized. Printz wrote to Governor Winthrop deploring the failure of the enterprise and emphasizing his friendship towards the English.

The following year he had an opportunity to demonstrate his good intentions. An English barque with a crew of seven arrived in Delaware from Boston. The ship stayed for a long time at Varkens Kill, while beaver pelts and a few otter skins were purchased from the Indians. Just as it was about to leave the river and return home, a band of Indians came on board on the

pretext of showing their pelts. Suddenly they drew their tomahawks, killing the skipper and three of his men. It was unclear what lay behind this massacre, but possibly the Indians felt cheated by the merchants.

When the Indians left the ship they took a boy and the interpreter, who seems to have been an accomplice. Printz got in touch with the chief of the Indian tribe and prevailed on him to hand over the interpreter and the murderers. He sent the men as prisoners to Boston, and the Englishmen there expressed their gratitude for his assistance.

Sweden and the Netherlands were allies during the Thirty Years' War and needed one another's help. These amicable relations were reflected on the Delaware where the two nations needed to cooperate to keep the English away from the river.

Printz was required by his instructions to be on neighborly terms with the Dutch. Reporting home in the summer of 1644, he wrote: "They dislike seeing us at Schuylkill and invariably protest." The Dutch hostility is easily understandable, since the Schuylkill River was the natural trading route to the interior and to the territory of the Minquas Indians. The Swedes were now masters of this river.

"They still maintain good friendship with us," Printz averred. The Dutch supplied the goods the Swedes needed while the Dutch Governor of Manhattan, Willem Kieft, wrote to Printz, keeping him informed of current events in Sweden, the Netherlands and elsewhere in Europe. But relations between them were soon to change. Now that Printz's friend Jan Jansen at Fort Nassau was about to be replaced by a new commander, there might, as Printz wrote, "per chance", be a new action.

The new commander of Fort Nassau, Andreas Hudde, proved to be a more dynamic, aggressive leader than his predecessor. It was not long before he and the Swedish Governor became involved in their first skirmish. In the summer of 1645 a Dutch merchant sailed up the Delaware to Fort Nassau. On Hudde's recommendation he continued up the Schuylkill, dropping anchor next to present-day Philadelphia, where he waited for the Minquas Indians to come down to the river with their pelts.

Printz immediately sent a message ordering him to leave. This was Swedish Crown territory. The Dutch merchant refused to comply and appealed to Hudde, but the latter could do no more than appeal to Printz. This was of no avail, and after further protests from Printz the ship had to leave.

Meantime Hudde had interested his Governor, Kieft, in trade on the upper Delaware. He was now given the task of proceeding to the upper reaches of the river and buying land there. He sailed to Sankikan and proposed continuing from there to the great falls, but Printz forestalled him. He put it into the Indians' heads that the Dutch were planning to build a strong fortress with many soldiers, from which they would kill the Indians downstream of the falls. This made the Indians recalcitrant. When Hudde reached Sankikan, they stopped him and to his great chagrin he was forbidden to go any further.

Relations between the Swedes and the Dutch were strained, and grew worse than ever in the autumn of 1646, when Hudde purchased land on the western shore of the Delaware, a bit north of Fort Nassau. The Indians had nothing against selling, even though they had already sold the area to the Swedes. As confirmation of his purchase, Hudde put up a pole displaying the Dutch Company arms.

The Swedes were furious. Commissioner Hendrick Huygen went to the place himself and tore down the

pole. And Printz delivered a strongly worded written protest at this violation of Swedish Crown property. "You have not the shadow of a title to the place you have occupied," he wrote. His letter was delivered to the Commander of Fort Nassau by two colonists: a tailor called Måns Svensson Lom and a freeman called Olof Stille.

The Dutch commander argued that he had bought the land from the real owners, and he complained at the brusque behavior of the Swedes. When his envoys reached Ticinum Island with his letter of reply, Printz refused to greet them and threw the letter to the ground. Hudde sent a detailed report of this incident to Governor Kieft in New Amsterdam.

Printz clearly realized that in the long run the two nations would not be able to live peacefully side by side on the Delaware. He wrote home that the Dutch would have to be persuaded to move away from the river, and he presented lengthy arguments in support of his opinion. The Dutch were opposing the Swedes at every term, spoiling their trade, supplying the Indians with arms, powder and shot, and at the same time inciting them against the Swedes. It is hard to tell whether Printz was telling the truth, but the Dutch were destined to remain and the balance of power would eventually tilt in their favor.

Printz and the Indians

The death of Admiral Clas Fleming in a naval battle against the Danes in June 1644 robbed Johan Printz of his most powerful supporter at home. Fleming had been the energetic, enthusiastic advocate of New Sweden in the government, and after he was gone there was no one who showed the same concern for the colony on the Delaware. The Chancellor, Axel Oxenstierna, now took personal charge of the maintenance of the colony and the preparation of new expeditions, but he had too much to do and he was beginning to feel old and tired.

The following year the colony suffered a further setback. One night in November 1645 the buildings on Tinicum Island were ravaged by a terrible fire. It began in the fort of New Göteborg, where the gunner Sven Vass was on guard. Vass fell asleep at his post with a light burning. The timber caught fire and between ten and eleven that night people awoke to see the fort ablaze. Everybody tried to save what they could, but the fire was raging and a keg of powder exploded during the salvage operations.

The fire rapidly spread to the other buildings. The storehouse, with its rich store of pelts and tobacco, clothing, bread and other foodstuffs, went up in flames. The Governor's residence was burned to the ground with all his belongings. Next morning, after the fire had died down, only the barn remained. Everything else was in ruins. The cold weather set in and the river froze solid.

The island was virtually cut off from the mainland, and the destitute colonists had a wretched time for the next few months.

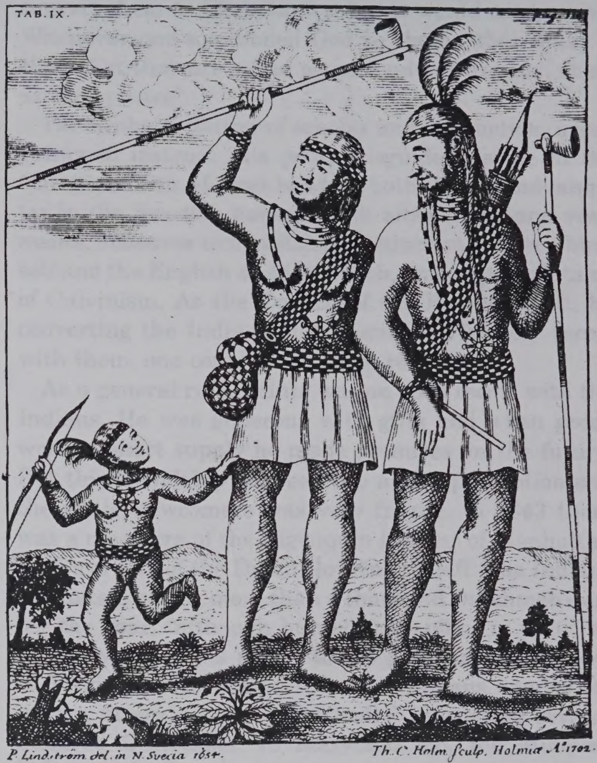
By 1646 everything had been restored to its pristine condition—the Fort, residence and storehouse—and the island's first church had been consecrated. The regular court met for several days in succession in February 1646 to question Sven Vass, now a prisoner, and to try to estimate how much had been lost in the great fire. The hapless Sven Vass was put in irons and sent back to Sweden together with the records of the trial and all other relevant documents. We do not know what became of him, but his prospects cannot have been very bright.

One comfort was the arrival of the Gyllene Hajen ("Golden Shark") at Fort Christina on the 1st of October, 1646 after a stormy crossing from Sweden which took several months. The ship was in a bad way. It had lost its sails and main mast, and everybody except one man on board was ill.

Printz had requested many soldiers and colonists, and plans had actually been made in Stockholm for a major expedition. Gradually these plans had shrunk, and instead of sending people to the colony the government decided to buy a ship in Holland and gamble on trading with the Indians. The "Golden Shark", as the ship was called, was loaded with attractive merchandise—axes, knives, cooking pots, pewter mugs, combs, fish hooks, mirrors, chains, caps ad infinitum.

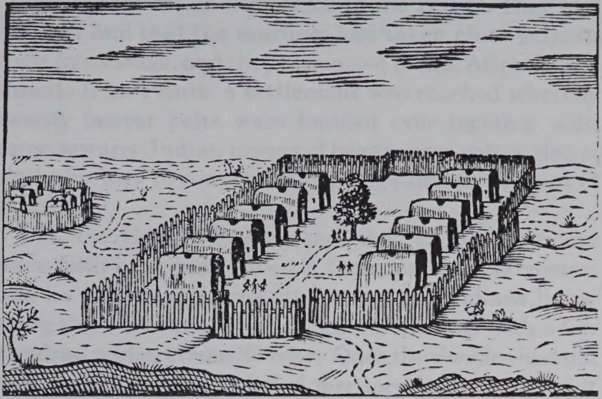
On the other hand, no attempt was made to attract new settlers. One settler known to us is Per Olofsson, a soldier imprisoned at Smedjegården, Stockholm, for a criminal offense. When his case was discussed in the Privy Council, Queen Christina had decided that he was to be sent over to New Sweden by the next ship.

Repairing the ship took time, and it was not until March 1647, after the ice had broken up, that the "Golden Shark" was able to return home with a cargo of tobacco barrels.


TAB. IX.
Fig. 10
P. Lindström del. in N. Svecia 1654.
Th. C. Holm ſculp. Holmiæ A° 1702.

Per Lindeström drew this Indian family for his book "Geographia Americae". The man and woman are carrying long wooden tobacco pipes. Around their waists they have wide belts containing money, and from their belts hang "clouts", with which, he writes, they cover their nakedness.

The large quantity of merchandise unloaded at Fort Christina gave Printz a chance of resuming trade with



A palissaded Indian camp. Engraving in Thomas Campanius Holm's book on New Sweden, 1702.

the Indians, a trade which the Dutch had been threatening to take over completely.

Printz had been instructed to treat the Indians humanely and kindly and to make sure that his people did them no harm. He tried to comply with these instructions and was clearly interested in these, the Swedes' closest neighbors. A few months after his arrival in New Sweden, he attempted to describe the Indians to the Constable of the Realm, Per Brahe. They are, he wrote, large, strong and well-proportioned. They paint their faces abominably, and no two of them are painted alike. And they go around naked except for a loincloth. They are adept in commerce, skilled at fashioning things from lead and copper, tin and wood, and good marksmen with their bows and arrows.

But the Indians are heathens and they put their hope in devils, whom they invoke through their medicine men and by dancing and howling. Printz wrote in a letter to Axel Oxenstierna that an attempt should be made to convert them to Christianity, but it would not be easy. Whenever one mentioned God to them, "they make it clear that they are a free people, subject to none, doing as they please".

Per Brahe, a patron of schools and instruction, urged Printz to instruct this poor, misguided people in the Christian faith. He was to adorn both church and minister in the Swedish manner with altar cloths and vestments, endeavor to maintain a distinction between himself and the English and the Dutch, and eschew all taint of Calvinism. As the Council of the Realm saw it, by converting the Indians and keeping on friendly terms with them, one could make them reliable.

As a general rule, Printz was on good terms with the Indians. He was generous with gifts and when goods were in short supply he made promises for the future. But this friendship between the native population and the white newcomers was very fragile. In 1643 there was a massacre of the Algonquin Indians of Manhattan on the orders of the Dutch Governor, Kieft. The Indians retaliated, killing more than a thousand Dutchmen during the year, "although hunted from pillar to post," as Printz wrote in his report to the government in 1644. In Virginia more than a thousand Indians banded together, attacking and "wretchedly" murdering several hundred Christians. In Maryland too, the Minquas Indians turned on the whites and many people lost their lives.

This, Printz went on, had made the Delaware Indians very proud. He had told them that a lot of people would be arriving on Swedish ships but when only one ship arrived and no settlers, the Indians became arrogant. They invaded the colony, murdering an Englishman and his Swedish wife. Three days later they killed two soldiers—Mårten Bagge from Roslagen and Mårten Finne from Österbotten—and a laborer called Gert Elcken.

The Indian chiefs then came to see Printz. They had assured him that the murders had taken place without their knowledge, and they requested peace. After drastic threats from Printz, a settlement was reached whereby twenty beaver pelts were handed over together with some sewans (Indian money of beads sewn onto strips of cloth) by way of compensation, in return for a piece of cloth.

But, the Governor remarked, they do not have any more faith in us than we do in them, and in this connection he suggested a crusade against the Indians living along the Delaware. He could kill them all off with a few hundred soldiers from Sweden. Once the Swedes had not only purchased the Indians' territory but conquered it by the sword, no one in the future would present rival claims to it. They would then be able to pursue their fur trade with the Minquas Indians in peace and quiet and have free overland access to Manhattan.

It is possible that Kieft, the Dutch Governor, was a party to this wild suggestion, but as Printz did not have that many soldiers it remained unsettled. Besides, one finds it hard to believe that the government in Stockholm would have agreed to such an "unchristian" suggestion.

Printz continued to try to maintain peace and friendship with the Indians in the colony. There were disturbances from time to time. A Swede, Jan Wallin, was killed by the Indians in the autumn of 1646, and two other Swedes were murdered two years later on their way to Minquas. Things remained quiet, however, on the whole, and amity between the two peoples was secured by exchanges of gifts. There was an embargo on schnapps and firearms, but otherwise the Swedes developed a thriving barter trade with the Indians. "When paying the Indians with Christian goods," says the Swede Per Lindeström, "one can profit immensely trading with the savages."

In addition to maintaining friendly relations with the Indians, Printz was required by his instructions to convert them to Christianity. He had Swedish clergy at his disposal for this purpose, and missionary activity among the Indians was their concern.

A Minister at Work

Johan Campanius had been appointed by Clas Fleming to serve as chaplain to the colony in New Sweden and tend the Swedish congregation. He crossed to America with his wife, Margareta Persdotter, and several infant children. They sailed with the same expedition as the Governor, Johan Printz. The company also included another clergyman, Israel Holg Fluviander, a nephew of the Governor's.

In February 1643 they went ashore at Fort Christina. The colony already had a third priest, Reorus Torkillus, but he was ill and died in September, only 35 years old. Campanius buried him in the small churchyard at Christina.

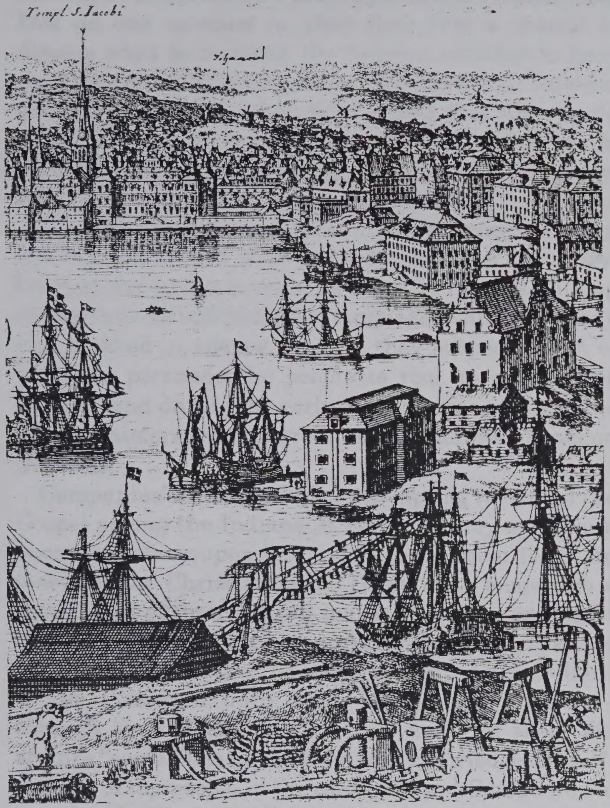
Israel Fluviander was stationed at Fort New Elfsborg, on the eastern shore of the Delaware, where he held services for the soldiers while the fortress was being built. Campanius was given a plot of ground at the new Uppland settlement. He settled with his family and built the same kind of parsonage as his colleagues back home in Sweden. He cultivated grain and tobacco and bred horses and cattle.

Campanius' regular duties were performed at Fort New Göteborg on Tinicum or Tenniko Island. A small log house church and belfry were built here in 1643. A bell for the belfry was cast in Sweden and brought over by the Fama in 1644. The church was destroyed in the great fire the following autumn, but a new one was immediately built on the same foundations. It was given a plank roof, a few simple decorations, and a fine cloth on the altar. A belfry was constructed next to the church, just as in Sweden, and the bell, which had been rescued from the flames, was hung in it. A fenced churchyard was laid out in front of the church.

One fall day 1646 the church was ready to be consecrated. Campanius has recorded this joyful event as follows: "On the 4th of September, 1646—our last great day of prayer that year in New Sweden—I consecrated the church at Tenniko and the churchyard beside it." He adds: "The first body to be buried there was that of Anders Hansson's daughter Katarina Andersdotter, on the 28th of October, being the feast of St. Simon and St. Jude."

In a letter to the Constable of the Realm, Per Brahe, Printz wrote that the services employed the same liturgy and language as in Old Sweden. "Our clergyman wears vestments and differs in every way from the other sects around us."

Services were frequent and protracted. The ordinary Sunday service, with its very long sermon, could occupy four hours on a Sunday morning, which called for a great deal of physical stamina on the part of both priest and parishioners. Services like this were held several days in succession at Christmas, Easter and Whitsun, and the minor festivals—New Year, Epiphany, Candlemas, the Annunciation, St. Michael, All Angels and All Saints. The statutory days of prayer were also an occasion for services and rest from work. The feasts of the Apostles, Maundy Thursday and the week leading up to the Ascension involved special celebrations in the Church of Sweden. In addition, a sermon was preached every Wednesday and Friday, and on other weekdays there were prayers and hymns every morning and evening.



Stockholm. The naval base and section of Norrmalm from Kastellholmen. Engraving from Erik Dahlberg's Suecia Antiqua.

And so it went on year after year. The church bell called the people to divine service, and attendance was compulsory on Sundays and festivals. Laymen were specially appointed to assemble the people at various clearings, and they traveled to the island church by boat and canoe.

Celebrations were not confined to the Church calendar. In 1646, when news came of Queen Christina's assumption of royal power, a day of thanksgiving was proclaimed in the colony and the settlers gathered in the church to thank God for giving Sweden a queen of authority.

There was no organ. Campanius himself had to lead the congregational singing, aided perhaps by a few talented vocalists. From Sweden he had brought with him a silver chalice which was used for communion services. This remained in the church after he left.

"On account of numerous impediments and adversities" not everybody was able to attend services. Some of the settlers lived 20 km. away, others as far as 60 km. Campanius had to visit these people, "with no regard for fair or foul weather, traveling from one place to another and visiting them with the word and the sacraments, which I do gladly," as he once put it in a drastic description of his tribulations to the Archbishop of Uppsala. For all these duties he was paid ten riksdalers a month.

Campanius was a practical, broadminded man, and during his travels he kept an eye open for anything new and interesting in this strange country. His grandson, Thomas Campanius Holm, tells us that he made astronomical observations, noted down particulars about flora and fauna, climate and the length of the days. Thomas used his grandfather's notes for a book entitled "A short description of the province of New Sweden in America".

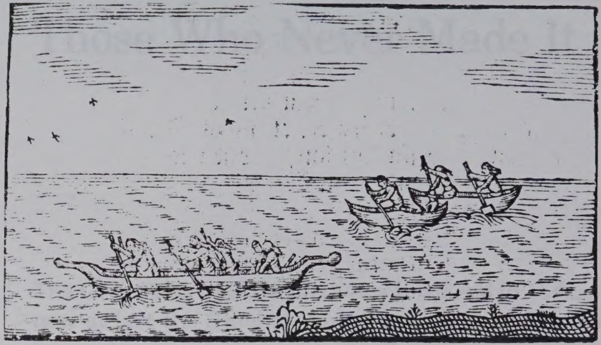
Campanius was particularly interested in the Indians on the Delaware, their language, culture and ideas. It was while serving as chaplain to the colony that he compiled the first dictionary of their language, "Vocabularium Barbaro-Virgineorum", listing the most com-

mon everyday words, numerals and some of the syntax. He relates in the Indians' language, and in a translation, how on one occasion in 1645 they held a council to discuss what to do about the Swedes, whether to keep the peace or fight them. After a long discussion between the people and the chiefs, they agreed that they would maintain peace and friendship with their neighbors in the hope of a big ship arriving soon from their country, fully loaded with all sorts of good things.

The Indians used to visit the church services to listen to Campanius. They were puzzled by what he had to say, because during his sermon he stood by himself, talking at length in an unintelligible language, while everybody else listened in silence. At first they suspected him of trying to persuade the people to rise up against the Indians, and during the early years Campanius and the other ministers lived in great fear of their neighbors on the river.

Campanius' duties included attempting to spread the Gospel among the Indians. It began as they asked him questions, whereupon he tried to teach them the main tenets of the Christian faith. These talks made him a good friend of theirs. At all hours of the day and night they would come to his home and listen to him. It would seem, admittedly, that he never converted any Indians to the Christian faith, but—his grandson writes—through their dealings with him, many of them did acquire "some little taste of the true knowledge of God".

Some of the people in the colony helped Campanius to translate Luther's Small Catechism into the language of the Algonquin Indians. This, he relates in his preface, was done so "that the people who walk in darkness might see a great light and the light shine over them that dwell in the land of the shadow of death". His translation was far from literal. To make things more intelligible to the Indians he adapted the subject to their



This picture of large and small canoes, hollowed out of tree trunks by fire, comes from the book by Thomas Campanius Holm, published in 1702.

living conditions. The Third Commandment, "Six days shalt thou labor," he paraphrased as "Six days shalt thou plant and fell, hunt, fish and do other such work besides". And in the Lord's Prayer, our daily bread becomes "everything our body desires, for the avoidance of want, such as eating, drinking, clothing, house and home, land for cultivation, deer, moose and things belonging to the house".

The clergy of the colony were sometimes engaged by the Governor to mediate disputes between the Dutch and the Indians. Campanius himself, it seems, once went on an expedition to the country of the Minquas Indians. They lived 120 km. inland, and the Swedes used to visit them once or twice a year to buy beaver pelts. The trip was heavy going, Campanius recalls, with numerous sharp boulders, morasses, hills and streams. They had to wade through water up to their armpits. The Minquas Indians lived at the top of a high mountain, a difficult place to reach. They had a square camp surrounded by palisades. Here the Swedes brought their

stores of cloth, cooking pots, axes, hoes, knives, mirrors and corals to exchange for beaver and other costly furs. He describes the Minquas as a stately, intrepid people. In battle they would stand their ground to the last man, like a wall.

At the beginning of January the Svanen returned to Fort Christina with a new cargo of desirable merchandise for trading with the Indians. There were no new colonists on board except the clergyman Lars Larsson Lock or Loccenius, who was to succeed Campanius as chaplain to the colony since Campanius was "somewhat aged and poorly", and returning to Sweden with his family.

Lieutenant Kling, Hans Rosbach the smith, Erik Andersson the trumpeter, Knut Lilliehöök and four other soldiers returned to Sweden by the same ship. Kling took with him the colony records and accounts. The homeward cargo consisted of furs and tobacco.

After returning to Sweden in July 1648, Campanius served first as Admiralty chaplain at Skeppsholmen in Stockholm and then, the following year, was appointed minister of Frösthult and Härnevi in Uppland, where he was to spend the remainder of his life. Here he put the finishing touches on his translation of Luther's Small Catechism into the Indians' language. He sent it to King Charles X, in the vain hope of getting it printed. Campanius died in 1683, aged 82. His Indian catechism was not printed or shipped over to America until 1696.

Those Who Never Made It

The Great War in Germany came to an end in 1648, and now at last the Swedish government could concentrate more attention on its colony in America. In April that year the Council discussed a letter from Governor Printz, in which—as usual—he requested more colonists and more money for the maintenance of New Sweden. The government now decided to dispatch a new expedition.

The Kalmar Nyckel was no longer serviceable for these voyages, and instead it was decided to fit out the man-of-war Kattan for the voyage to "Virginia". The Kattan was an eighteen-gun ship, three meters long and eight meters in the beam. The expedition was put under the command of Hans Amundsson, who took his family with him. The Kattan was captained by a Dutchman, Cornelius Lucifer, with Jan Janson Bockhorn as first mate.

Printz had requested armaments for his fortresses, and so the War Office was instructed to deliver guns, powder and shot, cuirasses, pistols, drums and spades to be loaded on board the Kattan.

Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna still maintained that New Sweden could serve as a penal colony; and he was in favor of sending over a few soldiers who had deserted. And Queen Christina, attending one of the spring sessions of the Council, thought that New Sweden was just the place for all the gypsies in Sweden. The Provincial

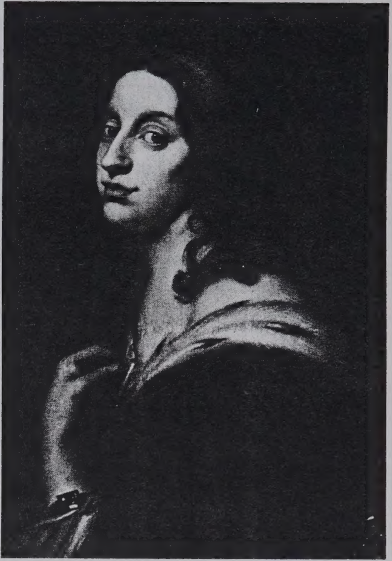
Governor should be ordered to keep them in custody until the ice broke up and the new sailing season began.

Bengt Skytte, Provincial Governor of the County of Uppsala, was able to report that the Finnish settlers in Värmland had been seized by Sweden's first "America fever" and 300 of them had requested to be sent to New Sweden to break new land. But the Queen found this odd, since there was more than enough land to be broken in Sweden.

About seventy colonists—men, women and children —were taken on board the Kattan in June 1649. They included the priest Matthias Nertunius, the bookkeeper Joachim Lycke and his family, the surgeon Thomas Stidden, a couple of poachers and a few soldiers sentenced to be deported to America for desertion.

After various delays the ship put out from the port of Göteborg on the 3rd of July and, with a favorable wind, sailed into the Kattegatt. It followed the usual course through the English channel and along the coasts of Portugal and Africa until, reaching the trade winds, it steered straight across the Atlantic with the Canary Islands to starboard.

At the outset the voyage was a prosperous one. The West Indies were reached on the 20th of August. The captain decided to make for Antigua and fill up with fresh water, but there was such a shortage of water that only four barrels were to be had. They then continued to the island of St. Kitt's, where they were well received by the English Governor and obtained both water and provisions. They now made for the island of St. Martin, where they purchased a cargo of salt. On the 26th of August the ship weighed anchor again and, with good winds and billowing sails, set out from the island. Although they now entered unfamiliar and dangerous waters, the captain continued cruising between the islands at night. At 2 o'clock on the morning of the 28th of August, the ship struck a reef. She negotiated both this reef and the next one, but the third time she stuck fast. Everybody came up on deck, and in an attempt to float the ship they all helped to throw the ballast overboard, together with the water barrels and the salt. When day broke they could see an island a great distance away. Women and children were put in life boats and set ashore on the island. In the meantime a severe storm blew up, forcing the men to cut the masts and throw them overboard. The following day they abandoned ship and joined the others ashore.



Queen Christina, aged 24. Painting by David Beck 1650. Nationalmuseum.

They had some provisions with them, but there was no water on the island, and there followed eight days of misery. The Constable, Johan Jonsson Rud, who wrote a chronicle of this unhappy voyage, tells us that people

were so thirsty that they had to lie down and lick the rocks.

Eventually they were discovered by two Spanish ships from the island of Porto Rico, about 100 km. away. The Spaniards gave them water and food but robbed them of their possessions and forced them to return to the Kattan in an attempt to salvage her. They had to pump the ship dry, and Nertunius himself, the ship's chaplain, stood "in his shirt working the pump," Rud recalls. When the salvage attempt proved a failure, the Spaniards took them as prisoners to Porto Rico, marching them to the town square to an accompaniment of trumpets, drums and a great deal of noise.

Meanwhile Hans Amundsson obtained an interview with the Governor, Don Fernando de la Riva. When he complained at the treatment given to his people, the Governor assured him that nothing of the kind would have happened if he had been there. He declared that all the Swedes would be set free, but he was unable to return their cargo and provisions. In the future they would have to fend for themselves by working or begging. Amundsson alone would be given a small monthly allowance.

In November 1649 Hans Amundsson sent a letter to the Board of Admiralty from Porto Rico, explaining the emigrants' plight. He put all the blame for the loss of the Kattan on Captain Lucifer, for obstinately, wrecklessly defying his warnings and sailing at nighttime in difficult waters. He now begged the excellent, gracious lords and masters to save them all—seventy people plus the crew—from this peril to their lives and souls. The peril to their souls came from the conversion attempts by Spanish monks.

Amundsson sent his letter by the bookkeeper Joachim Lycke, who managed to get passage on board a ship leaving the island. But the letter did not reach Stockholm until July 1650. When nothing happened, several Swedes lost patience and made their way home by their own devices. They included two soldiers on the Adelsfanan—Johan Lindeberg and Daniel Larsson—who had taken service with the Admiralty during the voyage. With the Governor's permission, in February 1650, they took service on board a Spanish frigate sailing from Porto Rico to Spain. When they reached the island of Santo Domingo, another ship there was short-handed. The captain of this ship obtained permission from the Governor to take the two Swedes into his service.

When, after much tribulation, they finally reached the Canary Islands, the captain refused to pay them any wages. Since they were unable to obtain help from the Governor of the island, they signed on with a couple of English vessels at anchor in Palma. The pay was bad, but once they were in London they were able to obtain shoes and breeches. When, in July 1650, they got back home to Göteborg, they could proudly notify the Board of Admiralty that, despite being utterly destitute, they had contrived to return to Sweden.

And two years later, a couple of sailors from the Kattan turned up in Göteborg. They had made their way home after an even longer odyssey. Nertunius the clergyman also obtained a pass from the Governor of Costa Rica, who treated him kindly, and reached Stockholm, losing little time reporting for duty on the next ship bound for New Sweden.

After several requests the Governor finally gave permission for all the Swedes to leave Porto Rico. A Spanish general, Francisco Visante, was about to sail for Europe, and the Swedes gathered in the harbor, hoping to accompany him. Contrary to all promises received, the captain would only allow Hans Amundsson and his family to come on board. When Hans Amundsson refused to abandon the others, he was forced to remain on board.

That was in April 1651. The ship arrived at Cadiz, Spain, in July, and from there Hans Amundsson and his family eventually made their way back to Sweden.

The hapless Swedes left behind asked the Governor to let them leave the island on board another ship. He invited them to purchase a barque which the Spaniards had taken as a prize, evidently from the French. The offer was accepted, but only 24 Swedes—perhaps the sole survivors—went on board the ship. At the beginning of May 1650 they set course for St. Kitt's. Perhaps they were hoping that another ship would take them from there to New Sweden.

The very next day they were intercepted by a French vessel which took them prisoners, refusing to pay any attention to their Swedish passports. They were taken to the island of Santa Cruz, which belonged to France. Constable Rud says that when they were taken ashore, the French Governor and his troops stood at the water's edge, shouting and screaming that the island was short of women.

The Swedes were taken up to the fort. Here they were robbed of the last of their money and valuables. Rud says that many of them—men and women—were tortured by soldiers in search of money. One woman was raped and killed. Others—Rud himself among them—were enslaved.

Rud describes how he escaped from his slave owner. One night he crept out of the house "on my bare elbows and knees to a large cinnamon forest, where I lay under a lemon tree for three weeks. And had nothing to eat but lemons, and when it rained, I lay on my back and let the water drip from the leaves into my mouth." Perhaps his description of his own sufferings is slightly exaggerated, but he would seem by all accounts to be right in saying that most of his comrades were "wretchedly and tragically despoiled" on Santa Cruz.

Salvation eventually materialized in the form of two Dutch skippers who entered the West Indian waters in search of tobacco. They had learned of the sufferings of the Swedes, and requested the Governor for permission to take them off the island. He issued them with passes and letters of discharge, but when the time came to depart there were only five Swedes left of the original twenty-four. In addition to Constable Rud there were two women and two children. The women and children died on the voyage. Rud himself made his way back home by way of Holland and was then able, in April 1651, to write a letter to Axel Oxenstierna describing the fate which had overtaken him and his unfortunate companions.

The loss of the Kattan was virtually complete. Altogether only nineteen colonists, and a few officers and soldiers, contrived by devious routes to return to their native country. They included the surgeon Thomas Stidden, who struggled back in extraordinarily difficult circumstances, by way of Amsterdam with his wife and five children. Like the minister Nertunius, he was to make a new attempt and actually reach New Sweden. And Hans Amundsson would try to get to the American colony, but without success.

New Sweden Left to Its Own Fate

The wreck of the Kattan in West Indian waters spelled disaster for New Sweden. The people lost were needed in the colony, and all the weapons and goods for barter had gone with them. Printz was to continue requesting help from the government, and his letters were to be discussed in the Council, but no new expedition was ever initiated. Sweden at this time was under Queen Christina's personal rule. The government, headed by Axel Oxenstierna, had difficulty taking action, and the kingdom was in the throes of a severe economic crisis.

For six years, from 1648 until 1654, no Swedish vessels put into the port of Christina. All this time the colony fell back on its own resources. Johan Printz, hard-boiled man of action, held out and tried to keep up the spirits of the colonists, but at the same time he realized that things were getting worse as, year after year, they remained cut off from the homeland.

The Indians grew impatient when the Swedes were no longer able to offer them goods or presents, and when no Swedish ships put in an appearance in the Delaware Bay. And the Dutch, as they took over more and more of the Swedish trade with the Indians, began to believe that before long New Sweden would be finished. The Swedish government no longer bothered about its colony, and the few isolated Swedes quickly were regarded as vulnerable.

Willem Kieft, the rather effete Governor of New Amsterdam, had kept on friendly terms with Printz, but in 1647 he was succeeded by Peter Stuyvesant, a professional soldier with every intention of safeguarding Dutch interests on the Delaware.

The first skirmish between him and Printz took place that summer, after he had given a number of Dutch merchants permission to trade on the river. When the Swedish Governor obstructed them, they complained to Hudde at Fort Nassau; he turned to Stuyvesant, who immediately lodged a sharply worded protest with Printz.

In the spring of 1648 both the Dutch and the Swedes strengthened their fortifications on the Schuylkill. Hudde, acting on Stuyvesant's advice, bought land from the Indians on the river and built a Dutch strongpoint, Fort Beversreede, to control the trade in beaver pelts. Several Dutch farmers settled near the fort. Printz responded by erecting a ten meter long log building right outside the palisades of the fort, blocking its view of the river. Ships anchoring on the Schuylkill had difficulty spotting the new fort.

One day in October Lieutenant Sven Skute arrived at the fort declaring that they had orders to demolish it. There was a brawl before he withdrew. During the night a Swedish soldier, Peter Jochim, broke into the fort and pulled down part of the palisade. Letters were exchanged between Printz and Stuyvesant, both sides claiming that they were entitled to the land because they had bought it from the Indian chiefs.

To Printz's gratification, Fort Beversreede was abandoned in the summer of 1650, but at about the same time news arrived of the loss of the Kattan at Porto Rico, which gave the Dutch more freedom of movement along the river. Printz did his utmost to defend the Swedish supremacy. In the spring of 1651 Dutch farmers on the Schuylkill complained to Stuyvesant about losses

inflicted by the Swedes, who destroyed their plantations and set fire to their houses.

Faced with these and other complaints, the Dutch Governor decided to make a show of strength on the river. He knew that Printz had only small forces at his disposal, and he believed that just one warship from New Amsterdam would be enough to bring the Swedes to heel.

In May that year a Dutch ship, carrying troops and guns, sailed up the Delaware and anchored 5 km. downstream of Fort Christina. This ship sealed the river. Printz immediately dispatched his yacht down river with troops, guns and shot. The Dutch captain was under orders to avoid violence, and when the Swedish sloop approached he pulled up anchor and returned to Manhattan. And once again, Printz reported to Axel Oxenstierna, the coast was clear.

Stuyvesant realized that tougher methods would be needed to deal with the Swedes on the Delaware. Since the Netherlands and Sweden were still on friendly terms, he forged his plans without consulting the authorities at home.

In the summer he sent eleven ships, all of them well manned and four of them carrying cannons. He himself took the overland route at the head of about a hundred soldiers. He joined up with the fleet at Fort Nassau, whereupon they sailed up and down the river, with a din of guns and drums to make an impression on the Swedes. He sent messengers to Printz with letters declaring that all land along the river belonged to the Dutch Company, by right of discovery and purchase. Printz calmly referred to documents of sale in the government offices in Stockholm.

Stuyvesant summoned several Indian chiefs to Fort Nassau, among them Peminacka and Mattahorn. Asked how much land they had sold to the Swedes, they answered evasively. It seemed as though they were unwilling to sell any land to the Dutch, for fear of Printz, the Swedish chief. “Will you put us in prison or beat us?” they asked. Finally, after a pow-wow, Peminacka said that they would not sell but would give to the Dutch all land on the western shore from Minquas Kill down to the coast. All he asked in return was that the Dutch should repair his gun when necessary and that they should give him a little maize when he came to them empty-handed. A protocol was drawn up, but Peminacka did not sign any documents of sale.

Stuyvesant next sailed down the river to Sandhook, on the western shore between Christina and Elfsborg and the site of what is now New Castle. Here he erected a fort which he manned and equipped with twelve cannons. He named it Fort Casimir. At the same time he had Fort Nassau evacuated, transferring the garrison and guns to the new strongpoint. Faced with this pressure from the Dutch, Printz found it necessary to concentrate his forces on Christina, Tinicum Island and the country further north. New Elfsborg, no longer the key to the river, was left to its fate. New Korsholm was also abandoned, as well as the mill at Mölndal, because Anders Dreijer the miller did not dare to stay on, for fear of the Indians.

Meanwhile Printz had collected the testimony of other Indian chiefs who confirmed that the Swedes were the rightful owners of the land. He sent these depositions to Stuyvesant, but they were disregarded. Now that Stuyvesant, by superior force, had occupied the fort, the Dutch were masters of the river. The Swedes living in the area were ordered to leave or else to put themselves under Dutch rule. Officials at the fort began collecting customs duty and recognition charges from foreign merchant vessels.

Eventually Stuyvesant returned to New Amsterdam

with all his ships, but Printz did not have enough men to capture the new fort. He had to bide his time pending reinforcements from Sweden.

"This has to be borne out of weakness. Relief is needed, and if it has not come by next March, this enterprise will be at an end," Printz prophesied in a letter to Axel Oxenstierna in August 1651. The Dutch government was shaken by Stuyvesant's highhanded action and wanted to await the Swedish reaction. The position of New Sweden was discussed in the Swedish Privy Council twice during the spring of 1652. It was decided to send a new expedition to America, but there was no money, and morale in the colony was declining.

Printz's instructions gave him unlimited authority. He was to govern the colony single-handed, tolerating no contradiction. And the State awarded him a high salary—1,200 dalers a year, compared with 288 for his right-hand man, Lieutenant Sven Skute, and a mere 180 for the chaplain Johan Campanius.

Printz sat as a judge in the colony court which was held in Printz Hall, the Governor's residence, on Tinicum Island. Here, together with a number of jurors, he interrogated witnesses and delivered judgment. Sven Vass, the soldier who caused the fire at New Elfsborg in the fall of 1645 by sleeping at his post, was brought before this court. Some other cases concerned unlawful trading with the Indians.

There were cases of people absconding from the colony to New Amsterdam. When this happened, a few officers would be sent out to look for them, and the Dutch did not hinder the extradition. Sometimes the hiding places of deserters were revealed to the Swedes by the Indians. Those who were arrested were taken to court but usually exempted from punishment in return for a promise of better behavior.

In 1653, the year after the Dutch built Fort Casimir,

there was a crisis in the colony. The harvest was poor the previous year and trade with the Indians had come to a standstill. The Dutch were exerting unremitting pressure on the colony, and the Indians were unruly, stealing firearms and killing the Swedes' pigs in the woods. The colonists felt abandoned, and some of them deserted. Printz wrote, they began to feel "as if they had no government but were stray exiles". The entire population of the colony at this time—farmers, laborers and soldiers, men, women and children—amounted to no more than 200.

The Governor became the butt of discontent. Twenty-one colonists signed a petition accusing him of brutality and exceeding his power. He delivered judgments which went against the jury's opinion, and he was open to bribery. He forbade them to trade privately with Indians or Christians, whereas he himself traded unrestrictedly with both for his own profit. They could not be sure of their lives or property from one moment to the next. The signatories included both soldiers and freemen.

Printz was furious. Anders Jönsson, a soldier believed to have been the ringleader, was arraigned, sentenced to death for rebellion and hanged on the 1st of August. A clergyman, Lars Lock, was singled out for blame, but was not brought to trial.

Printz refuted the petition on every point and referred to its signatories as rebels. The colonists were forced into silence, but they were not satisfied with his explanations. The following year they accused him once again of treating them badly. Among other things he had forced the farmers to work on his estate of Printz Hall, which the Swedish government gave him.

Stories of the severity of Governor Printz, and of his treating the Swedes like slaves, were still very much alive in the 1750's, when Pehr Kalm visited Delaware. There is a great deal to suggest that these accusations

were exaggerated and tinged by the depressing state of affairs at the colony. The odds are that Printz behaved like other landed gentry in Sweden during the 17th century, whereas the people of New Sweden had grown accustomed to greater liberty.

Printz himself complained on one occasion that there were only thirty men under his command whom he could really trust. For over ten years, through a combination of strength and wiliness, he had defended the frontiers of New Sweden against its neighbors on the river, and for the past five years he had been doing so without any orders or assistance from the government in Sweden. More than anyone else, he had made a name for himself in the Delaware colony, but now he had had enough. In the autumn of 1653 he tendered his resignation as governor or requested permission to travel home and report personally on the plight of the settlement.

In September he called the faithful Indian chiefs to a meeting at Printz Hall. He made a speech to them, said goodbye to them and exchanged gifts and promises of friendship. He also promised them that a great supply of goods would soon be arriving from Sweden. Next he gathered the colonists and bade them farewell. And after promising to return in person or to send them a ship, he handed over command of the colony to his son-in-law, Johan Papegoja.

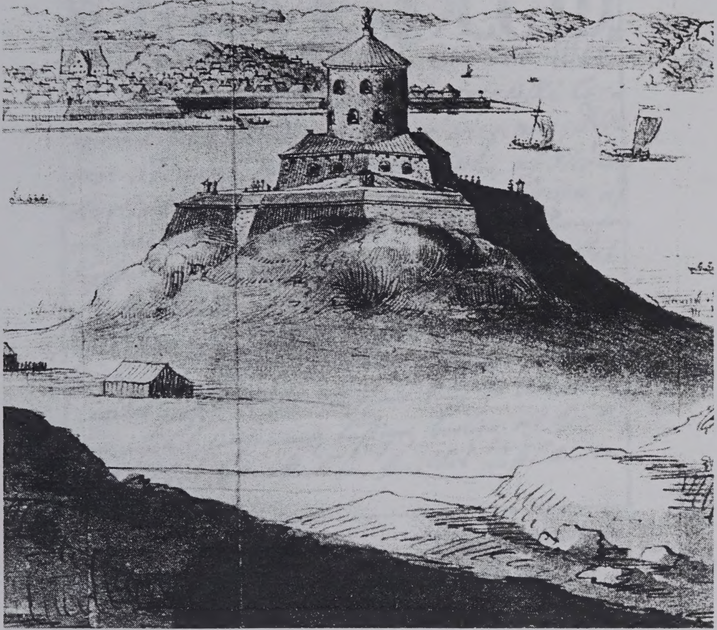
Printz sailed to New Amsterdam together with his wife and four daughters. He was also accompanied by Hendrick Huygen and about twenty returning colonists. On arrival in Sweden, Printz was accorded various honors and promoted to Colonel. In 1658 he became Governor of the County of Jönköping. He died in 1663 and was buried in his ancestral church at Bottnaryd, where his armorial bearings were put up for all to see.

The Örnen Sails to New Sweden

One winter's morning in 1653, with the snow falling thickly, a great throng of people gathered on Stigberget, a hill outside Göteborg near the estuary of the Göta River. They included soldiers and sailors, NCO's, smiths and carpenters, but further away stood the biggest group of all, several hundred farmers with wives and children, who had come trailing all the way from the forest villages of Värmland and Dalsland.

They had been visited by Captain Sven Skute, whose job was to try to recruit them as colonists for New Sweden. They had heard him praise the remote colony, with its fertile soil and unlimited forest. He also told them about the new expedition that would set off from Göteborg to the Delaware River, and America fever took hold of these humble people—Swedes and Finnish immigrants. They sold their cattle and then, loading their few belongings onto carts and wagons, turned their backs on their native country forever.

The plan was for two ships to sail to America. One of them was the Gyllene Hajen ("Golden Shark") which had already made one crossing, and the second was the Örnen ("Eagle"), a man-of-war. On reaching the city at the Western Sea, the country folk were told that only the Örnen would be able to set sail, because the other ship was in bad condition and needed repairs. Provisions and cargo had to be stowed away before the immigrants could board. There were barrels and boxes of butter and



Göteborg with its Fort Lejonet (The Lion) after the drawing by Erik Dahlbergh for Suecia Antiqua.

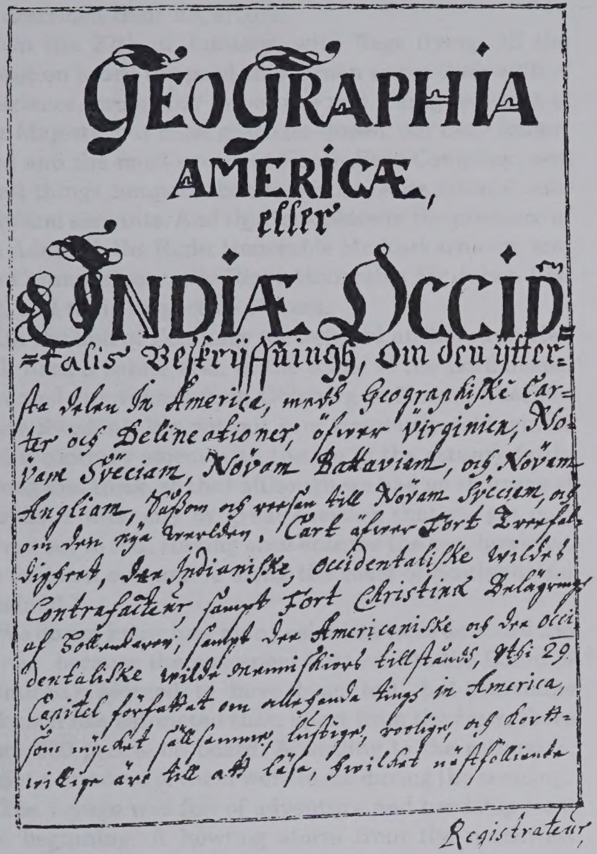
bread, beer and wine, shoes and clothing, axes and hoes and more.

Now at last it was their turn. There they stood on the hill, waiting for what seemed an eternity to hear which of them had been accepted as colonists and would have their voyage across the sea paid for by the New Sweden Company. Name after name was called out, and one family after another made its way down to the harbor, with chests and bundles, to look for a place on the deck of the Örnen. When the roll call was over, there were still about a hundred despairing country families left on the hill. They were abandoned to their fate. There was no room for them on board the ship, and they had nowhere to go.

The officers had gone aboard. The captain, Jan Janson Bockhorn, had previously sailed as first mate of the Kattan, the ship which foundered off the West Indies. After a great deal of trouble he had made his way back to Sweden, and the Board of Admiralty had now commissioned him to sail the Örnen. To assist him he had a supercargo, Hans Eriksson and a chief mate, Heinrich Hoffstäde from Hamburg. The Dutch and the Germans were still the experts and were given command of the Swedish ships.

Also on board the Örnen was the new Commander of New Sweden, Johan Rising. He had been a zealous secretary in the newly established Board of Commerce and was regarded as an expert on trade and related matters. He had taken a keen interest in New Sweden, which in his opinion deserved every form of support, since it was "for the honor and benefit of the fatherland to have a colony there alongside other nations". Rising's orders required him to travel directly to New Sweden and if possible avoid the Canary Islands route.

Captain Sven Skute was returning to New Sweden after his protracted recruitment tour of the woodland



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Registrateur,

Title page of Per Lindeström's narrative "Geographia Americae", recording the voyage to "Novam Sveciam" and describing the New World.

regions of central Sweden. During the voyage he was to keep an eye on the cargo and supervise the distribution of provisions to the crew and passengers. He was to make sure that divine service was held every morning and evening on board and that people lived peacefully together.

Skute had requested the Board of Admiralty to allow him to share a cabin with Captain Bockhorn on the voyage, but the Dutchman would not hear of any such encroachment. He refused to allow Skute to move in, in view of the "indecencies"—referring, perhaps, to drinking bouts—in which Skute and his people would indulge during the voyage. This kind of company, he said, was not good for a ship's master. Bockhorn even went as far as to assert that the loss of the Kattan was due to these indecensies, and he if anybody ought to have known.

Bockhorn was supported by Admiral Martin Anckarhielm in Göteborg, who forwarded his objections to the Board of Admiralty. Anckarhielm was an experienced seaman and an acknowledged war hero who, from his vantage point overlooking the Western Sea, kept the Board informed of the equipping of ships for expeditions to foreign countries. Like Bockhorn he was a Dutchman by birth and had served with the Dutch West Indies Company. He now lent large sums of money to the Swedish Crown, and he took a very close personal interest in our American colony.

The people on the upper deck who watched the emigrants come aboard included a twenty-two year old Uppsala student named Per Lindeström. He spent several years studying mathematics and fortification science at the University, and a few months previously had been appointed Fortification Officer and Engineer for the colony of New Sweden. He was generously endowed with humor, curiosity and imagination. He no sooner came aboard than he began making notes about this

voyage to the remote country of the future. This is how he described their departure:

"On the 27th of January, with flags flying, all the people on board the good ship Örnen swore their oath of allegiance, promising to be true and loving servants of Her Majesty, our most gracious Queen, our dear fatherland and the most excellent South Seas Company, and in all things comport themselves as befits faithful subjects and servants. And this took place in the presence of the Admiral, the Right Honorable Mr Anckarhielm, and the Commissioner, the Right Honorable Mr Johan Rising, and their respective officers.

On the 2nd of February we weighed anchor, unfurled sail, fired a salute and, in the name of the Lord Jesus, resumed our voyage from Göteborg to Novam Sueciam (New Sweden). We put out in a rigorously cold winter and a contrary storm with the ice in the estuary fairly strong and thick, so that although we had no shortage of people, it was only by great exertion that we got ourselves out to sea. Having once entered the sea, however, we followed our course along the coast of Scotland and England."

We do not know how many colonists were on board the Örnen, because the passenger lists sent to the Board of Admiralty seemed to have been lost, but Amandus Johnson has estimated that, apart from the crew, there were 350 people on board. According to the estimates, about a hundred of them were to die during the crossing.

The voyage was full of adventure and hardship from the beginning. A howling storm from the northwest forced the ship towards the coast of Jutland and made a big hole in the prow. Captain Bockhorn had the leak patched up but saw no other way but to turn about and make for the English Channel.

Another tempest drove them off course, and after sailing for two weeks the Captain was so confused that he was no longer able to give a position. Eventually they were able to drop anchor at a town which, to his joy, he found to be Calais. The crew and passengers, Lindeström tells us, rejoiced in the Örnen's speed. They had almost been lost "in the unspeakable, violent, rushing storm and the darkened dismal weather".

From Calais they steered due west but soon became entangled in the war between Holland and England. Off Dover they were intercepted by three large English frigates which mistook them for a Dutch ship. Captain Bockhorn refused to submit to a search, and replied to the English in Dutch. It was not until the English had hoisted the flag of war and shot away the tackle and spars that he submitted.

The Örnen was now escorted by the English warships to Dover, where it dropped anchor and remained for the night. In the morning Lindeström and Captain Skute were ordered to go on board one of the frigates, where they presented their Swedish passports to the captain. They were now kindly treated and generously entertained. They drank to the health of the King of England, followed by that of the Queen of Sweden, after which salutes were fired. They were then issued with passes and permits to sail past the ninety British men-of-war in the Channel. The English ships fired a salute as they left. With them they carried a big basket—as much as two men could carry on a pole—full of fruit for the refreshment of the crew as a gesture of friendship.

The English also offered them fresh water, but although the stores on board were running out, Bockhorn declined this friendly proposition.

As soon as the two men had come aboard, the Örnen weighed anchor, hoisted sail and fired the Swedish salute, to which the English ships immediately responded. Off Weymouth, Bockhorn had to drop anchor and stock up with water and provisions. Here again the

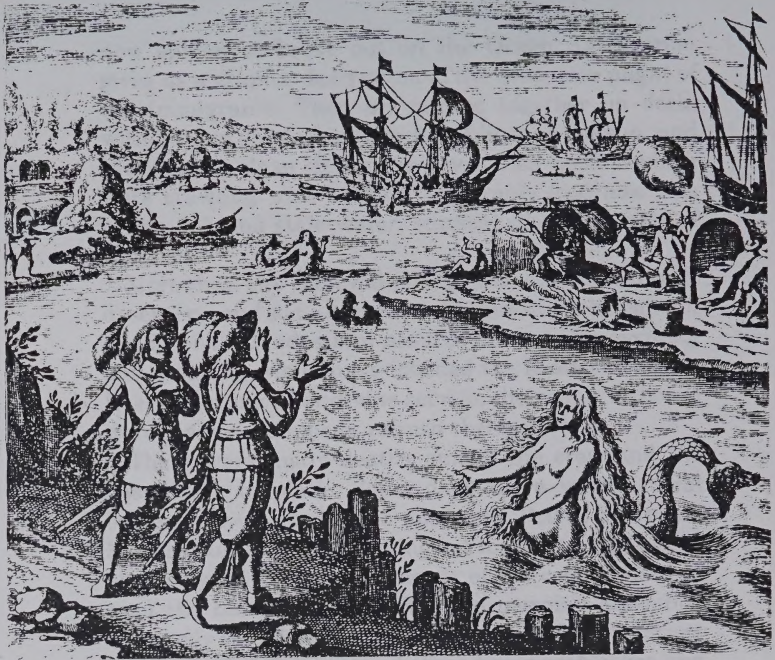
Swedes were well-received. The local commander invited the officers to dinner and entertained them until midnight. At every toast, a double Swedish salute was fired by the guns of the Örnen. There was no end of shooting, Lindeström tells us, by way of demonstrating "lasting and close friendship between the Swedes and the English".

On the 3rd of March they were back at sea. They ran into a violent storm in the Bay of Biscay. Off the coast of Portugal they caught sight of a Göteborg ship heavily loaded with salt making for Sweden, but after this they completely lost their bearings again. At dusk, seventeen days after putting out from England, they dropped anchor off an island whose batteries fired on them all night. At sunrise they were approached by three large yachts full of men, and Captain Bockhorn learned to his delight that they had reached the Canary Islands and that the Spanish Governor himself wished to pay the ship a visit.

The Governor, Don Felipe Disalago, proved to be amicably disposed towards the Swedes and was presented with a few bolts of fine Dutch linen tabby and eight smoked hams. Full of gratitude, he promised the visitors that they would be allowed to take in provisions. At first the citizens threw stones at the Swedes, but things calmed down after the Governor sent out drummers proclaiming on every street corner that people from the Örnen were to be treated peacefully.

Epidemics had broken out during the voyage, and by the time they reached the Canaries there were 130 sick people on board, Rising records in his journal. The people could now go ashore and recover their health, but, he relates, many of them died while the ship was in port.

Lindeström spent five memorable days here. He attended the magnificent reception which the Swedes were accorded in the palace, including a banquet totalling 100 courses, the like of which they had never seen. As the meal progressed there were fanfares of trumpets and tuckets of drums. He had an opportunity to demonstrate his Lutheran steadfastness against argumentative monks, who were otherwise "quite good drinking companions, who could respond to a toast".



In his book, Per Lindeström tells us about mermaids and sirens. This picture is in a German travel account from 1631.

Lindeström was nearly stabbed by a Frenchman "for a trivial matter not worth mentioning," but he extricated himself with the assistance of the owner of the house where he was staying. He reported the Frenchman to the Governor, who had him imprisoned in the castle and

sentenced him to run the gauntlet six times between two companies of soldiers.

Captain Bockhorn indulged in a rare form of commerce in the Canary Islands. Off Helsingör (Elsinore) he had signed on a Dane who fled to the Örnen. He was "an extraordinary rascal, reckless of life and soul", according to Lindeström. The Captain now had him sold into slavery. The purchase price was 400 riksdalers, paid in kind in the form of 9,600 pounds of Canary sugar. Bockhorn had also been planning to sell a "Moor", that is a black, but he died a few days before they reached the island.

At the end of March the Örnen left the friendly sanctuary of the Canary Islands to an artillery salute with a following wind. They entered the northeast trade wind, which according to Lindeström is created for the use and benefit of mankind. Clapping on all sail, they advanced in a warm, steady wind. They had plenty of fruit and wine. Thousands of flying fish collided with the sails and could be captured on the upper deck—they resembled mackerel. Sea pigs (a type of seal), crabs and shrimps made for a variable diet.

But the sea also had dangerous inhabitants. The seamen were full of superstitions. Mermaids and sirens, Lindeström tells us, could be seen and heard in the trade winds. One of these supernatural beings floated on the water with long, glittering gold hair shining in the sun. Down to the waist she was white and beautiful, and in her hand she held a mirror. Round her the sirens made such lovely music one would have thought that Heaven was not far off. For her sake some of the men jumped into the water. The others were able to save them, but those who jumped out through the cannon ports at night were beyond help. Rising, more realistic, also mentions people jumping into the water, but says that they did so because illness and the heat had made them giddy.

Day by day it grew hotter, and after two weeks at sea, new epidemics broke out on the Örnen. Lindeström gives us a graphic description of the desperate plight of the immigrants. They lay packed together on deck, without any shade from the fierce heat of the sun, and they had no clean clothing to cover their bodies, which were crawling with vermin. Their only food now was rotten fish and stale water, stinking like "the worst of carrion".

More than two hundred immigrants came down with dysentery, and some of them were women on the point of giving birth. Lindeström assures us that the moaning and groaning would have touched the heart of a stone. Every morning after divine service, the people on board were given schnapps to refresh themselves.

There were many deaths among the crew and the passengers on deck. Some days there were several bodies over which the two ministers, Petrus Hjort and Mattias Nertunius—traveling out to assist Lars Lock in attending to the spiritual needs of the colony—had to read the burial service. After the morning assembly, each body would be put on a plank and, after the priest had sprinkled the deceased three times with ashes and read the burial prayers, the body was slid from its plank into the sea. "A deep enough grave for them," as Lindeström puts it.

He tells us, if the dead man was an officer, two volleys would be fired from guns and muskets, but in the case of an ordinary soldier a small volley from two squads of musketeers was sufficient. "And there were bells for their passing and funeral," he adds.

But, Lindeström complains, misfortune is piled upon misfortune. When everything seemed worst, the lookout, watching through his spy glass, caught sight of three Turkish pirates rapidly approaching. The Örnen's passenger were in such a wretched state they did not know how they would be able to resist. The space around

the guns was jammed to the ceiling with an indescribable mess of emigrants' bunks, chests and belongings.

Only the heaviest guns could be cleared for action, along with four small guns on the upper deck to "play" on the pirates. Every man capable of holding a gun was taken or carried up on deck, and each pair of able-bodied men propped up an invalid between them. Once everyone had taken up positions on the upper deck, a variety of weapons were distributed—muskets, bandoleers, knobkerries, rockets, spears. And there were generous doses of schnapps all round, as well.

The strategy worked and no fighting was needed. The Turks balked at attacking such a heavily manned ship, and after the Örnen had fired a few salvos from the heaviest guns they abandoned the pursuit. The peril thus happily averted, a service of thanksgiving was held on board and extra rations distributed. Rising never mentions this episode of the Turkish pirates, so perhaps it is just a figment of Lindeström's imagination.

At dawn five days later the Örnen sailed past some of the West Indian islands, and the next morning she dropped anchor off St. Kitt's. As usual they were fired on by the shore batteries until Captain Skute had been sent ashore with their passports. Now they were well received. Everybody strong enough was allowed to go ashore, and both sick and healthy were regaled with fresh water, meat and fruit. Inside the harbor the Swedes caught a shark which was so big that it took sixty men to hoist it on to the upper deck.

Two weeks after leaving St. Kitt's they ran into a terrible storm off Victoria Bay. It started with three fierce whirlwinds which took the crew completely by surprise. The sails, all of which were unfurled, were wrenched from their masts and flew off as if they had been cut with knives from the rigging, Lindeström tells us. The ship was forced over on one side so that its masts came close to the water. A few sailors were thrown overboard and drowned.

Everybody, Lindeström writes, thought that the end had come, "and there was only a plank between life and death". There was nothing to do but to cut all the masts. Then and only then did the ship gradually right itself.

With makeshift masts and a spare sail, the Örnen limped into Virginia Bay, where it ran into violent thunder storms and nearly went aground on a reef. There was a thick fog and the captain, believing that they had already passed Delaware, turned south again. On their way they met two English barges which made off in haste, believing them to be pirates. They were luckier with a third Englishman, who came on board and told them where they were.

The ship's boat was sent ashore with a few sailors to collect water for the sick. They then hoisted sail, fired a salute and continued their "Indian" voyage, accompanied by two English barges.

Two days later they reached the Delaware, and on the 22nd of May the Örnen dropped anchor in the Port of Christina. The voyage was now happily concluded. The sick were taken ashore. Many people had died on the voyage, and the survivors were in very bad shape. Lindeström himself, who had not been ill at all on the voyage, was now confined to bed for eight days as a result of "the alien, unfamiliar air of the country which, at first, I could not tolerate".

Per Lindeström's is the first exhaustive description of a voyage from Sweden to America. He rounds it off with the following words: "Any man who cannot pray to God, let him go to sea on a long and dangerous voyage like this and then, have no doubt, he will learn to pray sure enough."

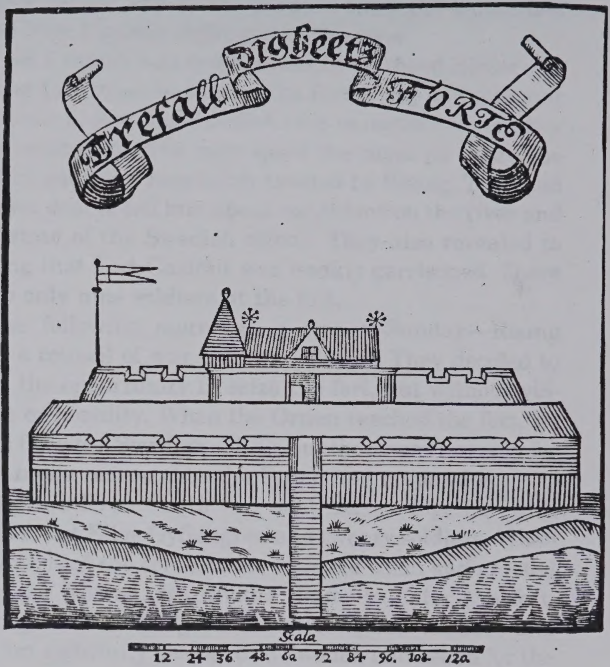
The Swedes Capture Fort Casimir

Once the Thirty Years' War was over, the Swedish government was intent on conducting a peaceful foreign policy and encouraging trade and industry. A special Board of Commerce was set up to take charge of Sweden's foreign trade in timber, pitch, tar, hemp and iron. This Board was headed by the Chancellor's son Erik Oxenstierna, who had been Governor of Estonia and now made every effort to establish trade connections with various countries.

First and foremost, Swedish trading had to be established in the Baltic and the Russian trade attracted to it. This had to be done at the expense of the Netherlands, Sweden's old ally, which dominated the freight trade in the Baltic area. This was one reason for the rapprochement after the war between Sweden and England, the arch-adversary of the Dutch Republic.

War broke out in 1652 between the two great trading powers. Sweden, feeling equally dependent on both countries, opted for neutrality. A large proportion of Sweden's iron exports went to England, while on the other hand the Dutch were a source of credit and purchased large quantities of Swedish artillery during the war.

The West Indies Company had been placed under the supervision of the Board of Commerce, and Erik Oxenstierna was supremely concerned with the matter of New Sweden. He played an energetic part in fitting out



The Swedish fort Trefaldighet ("Trinity"), as illustrated in Per Lindeström's narrative.

the Örnen for its American expedition, and he suggested the appointment of Johan Rising as Governor of the colony. Rising was an eminent economist and theorist. He had done great work at the Board of Commerce and ranked as one of our foremost colonization experts.

In the instructions issued to Rising, Erik Oxenstierna required him to maintain friendly relations with both the English and Dutch colonists and with the Indians, whom he called "the wild Americans". He was to safeguard the interests of the colony and endeavor to secure

the entire river for the Swedes, but without resorting to violent methods, unless the necessary defense of the colony dictated otherwise.

With regard to Fort Casimir, established recently by the Dutch, Rising was instructed to give careful consideration to get rid of it at the earliest possible opportunity, but "with all possible caution". If the Dutch could not be removed by reasonable persuasion, he would have to tolerate their presence for the time being and construct a fort downstream of theirs. Hostile attacks should be avoided, considering the "insignificant strength of the Swedes in this area".

The instructions were very clear on this point. An old soldier and seasoned Governor like Johan Printz would have understood that he should avoid hasty action. Otherwise the Dutch would retaliate and the English would have a pretext for intervening against both sides. There was a great deal to suggest that if Printz had stayed at his post in New Sweden he would have followed with the intentions underlying the instructions and avoided any threats and provocation of the Dutch. Perhaps then the colony might have remained in Swedish hands.

But Johan Rising seemed oblivious to the gravity of the situation. He was a civil servant with neither political instinct nor farsightedness. Nor did he know what sort of an opponent he had in Peter Stuyvesant.

When the Örnen had found its way into the Delaware River after a voyage lasting more than three months, Rising gave orders to drop anchor for the night off New Elfsborg and went ashore. He found the fort dilapidated and deserted. Per Lindeström believed the Swedes had abandoned it because of the mosquitoes. These insects sucked the blood of the people, who, he tells us, swelled up and became very ill. In actual fact the fort had been evacuated on the orders of Governor Printz because it no

longer served any useful purpose since the Dutch had built Fort Casimir right across the river.

Fort Casimir was commanded by Gerhard Bicker. On seeing the Örnen he hoisted the Dutch flag and sent four men in a boat to the Swedish ship to inquire where they had come from. The men spent the night on board the Örnen and were hospitably treated by Rising. They had a great deal to tell him about conditions on the river and the state of the Swedish colony. They also revealed to Rising that Fort Casimir was weakly garrisoned. There were only nine soldiers at the fort.

The following morning—it was a Sunday—Rising held a council of war with the officers. They decided to take the opportunity to seize the fort, but without violence or hostility. When the Örnen reached the fort, its guns fired the Swedish salute, but there was no reply for the simple reason that the Dutch had no powder.

Captain Sven Skute was sent ashore together with Lieutenant Elias Gyllengren and twenty soldiers. When they arrived the commander received them and greeted them as friends. He invited Skute to enter the fort. During their meeting Skute declared that the area and the fort rightfully belonged to Sweden and asked for the fort to be surrendered. At the same time he offered the commander, his soldiers and the twenty or so Dutch farming families who had settled there the option of remaining under Swedish protection.

Quite naturally, and as was customary, the commander asked for a respite to discuss the matter with his officers, but Skute insisted on an immediate surrender. The conference had been going on for two hours and Rising, growing impatient, fired a couple of artillery salvos over the fort.

The commander now sent a few men out to the Örnen to request a three-day respite for deliberations, but Rising refused and demanded an immediate reply. He

promised, though, not to act until Skute had returned to the ship.

In the meantime Lieutenant Gyllengren took action. During the negotiations the fort had been left unguarded. He sent his soldiers in through the open gates. When the Dutch began to put up a fight, he ordered them to lay down their arms. He then stationed men at the guns and guard posts, the Dutch flag was lowered and he hoisted a Swedish flag brought from the ship.

"A Swedish salute was then fired from the ship as a sign of the fort's obedience to Her Majesty, and powder was sent into the fort so its guns could reply to the Swedish salute," Lindeström records. Lieutenant Gyllengren was put in command of the fort with a troop of soldiers under him. At that time the fort contained twelve iron guns, a metal three-pounder, one thousand musket balls and sixty cannon balls but no powder.

Fort Casimir was renamed Fort Trefaldighet ("Trinity"), as it was taken on Trinity Sunday, the 21st of May, while the inhabitants of New Sweden were attending church services.

The Dutch soldiers handed over their guns—those who had any, says Lindeström, because some of them were being repaired. Disarmed, they requested Swedish protection. Captain Skute returned to the ship together with the Dutch commander, who repeated his request for a respite before surrendering. But Rising said that the time for such deliberations had now passed and gave him a choice between staying in New Sweden or going to New Amsterdam.

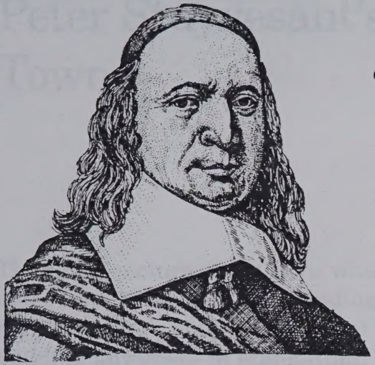
There were some twenty houses near Fort Casimir. While Bicker and his men were living inside the fort, these houses were inhabited by Dutch farmers. Two days after the capture of the fort, Bicker turned up at Fort Christina together with his officers and soldiers and all the farmers. Rising received them and promised them the same privileges enjoyed by the Swedish colonists. He assured them that all former enmity was forgotten and that they would be treated as friends and good neighbors if they swore allegiance to the Swedish Crown and company.

After they had all declared their willingness to remain in New Sweden and become Swedish subjects, they took the oath under the open sky and with the flag fluttering above them. They signed their names to the document and then they attended a banquet arranged by Rising in their honor. Bicker's officers included Andreas Hudde, the former commander of Fort Beversreede. He had been Stuyvesant's right-hand man and spokesman, but he now promised to serve Rising just as faithfully as he had served his former master.

It is doubtful whether these promises were in earnest. Three of the Dutch soldiers asked to be allowed to farm the open area outside Fort Trinity, but the other six wanted to go to New Amsterdam and return to New Sweden afterwards. They left without permission and never returned. Rising confiscated the muskets and swords they had left behind.

Rising had captured Fort Casimir, and the Delaware was once again a Swedish river, but his rigorous action did not follow the instructions requiring him to behave with all possible caution towards his Dutch neighbors. And it is hard to understand Rising's subsequent claim that the fort had fallen into Swedish hands, "without violence or hostility". The Dutch garrison had not even been given the chance of an honorable capitulation.

If Rising had been a prudent, farsighted governor, he would have left Fort Casimir to decay peacefully. He could have refurbished and re-garrisoned the Swedish Fort Elfsborg. In this way he could soon have taken command of the river without causing offense to any of



Governor Peter Stuyvesant

his European neighbors.

Instead his brusque behavior had now awakened the wrath of Peter Stuyvesant in New Amsterdam. Stuyvesant lost no time in reporting to his superiors in the West Indies Company. And he himself soon found a way of venting his wrath on the Swedes.

The Gyllene Hajen—the other Swedish America ship—had at last set out under the command of Hendrick von Elswick, assisted by Lieutenant Sven Höök. The first mate was a Dutchman, Andreas Mattheus. On board there were about thirty soldiers and colonists. They included Hans Amundsson, who had commanded the Kattan on her last, fateful voyage. He was accompanied by his wife and four children.

First the ship had to sail to Porto Rico to demand compensation from the Spanish colony for the losses incurred by the Company when the Kattan was lost. Nothing resulted. Hans Amundsson died there and was buried outside the town. We do not know what became of his wife and children.

After various adventures, the ship reached the American coast in September 1654. Here the Dutch mate committed a fatal, possibly deliberate error, steering the Gyllene Hajen into the Hudson River instead of the Delaware. Stuyvesant hurriedly intervened. He accused the Swedes of coming, not as friends and neighbors but as spies. He seized the ship and its cargo until Rising returned Fort Casimir. The Swedish flag was lowered despite Elswick's protests. The cargo was confiscated and sold and the Gyllene Hajen, now re-named the Dienen, resumed service as a Dutch merchant ship. The people on board were given permission to leave New Amsterdam if they desired, but Elswick claimed that they were put under heavy pressure to remain. The Dutch, like their other neighbors, were in need of colonists. The majority of passengers chose to settle in Dutch territory.

Elswick and Sven Höök both made their way to New Sweden together with a secretary, Carl Julius. They were accompanied by two soldiers, David Mickelsson and Johan Olofsson, both of whom were to remain in America after the colony collapsed. But Stuyvesant, not content with seizing the Gyllene Hajen, was already making plans to recapture the lost fort on the Delaware.

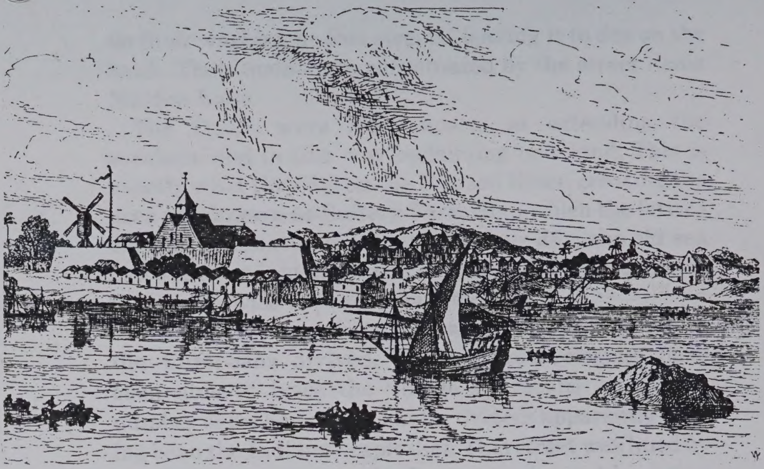
Peter Stuyvesant's Town

The oldest picture of the town which became New York dates from 1656. In it, one building towers above all the rest. It is a two story windmill, at that time the tallest building anywhere in Manhattan. This is where people ground the corn they had grown on the island. On the upper floor of the mill was a place of worship and an assembly room.

The English explorer Henry Hudson had sailed a long way up the Hudson River in 1609. He was in the service of the Dutch, at that time the foremost seafaring nation in the world, and the purpose of his voyage up the river was to find the Northwest Passage which would give the Dutch access to the spice trade of the East Indies. He found no passage, but he did find immortality by giving his name to the river.

The Dutch West Indies Company was set up in 1621 to trade with America. This company established a number of trapping stations along the Hudson River and christened its colony New Netherlands. The capital, New Amsterdam, was established at the apex of Manhattan for trading with the Indians on the island. Manhattan itself is an Indian name, meaning "the island with hills".

In 1626 the newly arrived Governor, Peter Minuit, secured the territory for the Company by purchasing Manhattan from the Carnarsee Indians for merchandise valued at 24 dollars. This famous transaction did not go unchallenged. The Indians did not understand the European concept of owning and selling land, because they themselves had only tribal territories, as opposed to individual holdings. In their view they had only sold the Dutch the right of sharing the country with them. But the settlers insisted on their ownership rights, and once when an Indian woman took a pear in a Dutch orchard she was killed along with a number of other Indians.



New Amsterdam, with its harbor and windmill, c. 1650. Engraving.

To protect themselves from the Indians, the settlers built a rampart of earth and trees along the landward side of their little township. This was gradually reinforced, extending from one river to the other—an intimidating palisade of four meter high logs, sharpened to a point at the top. The rampart demonstrated that the trading station had now been converted into a permanent colony, and the Company, in its efforts to attract new emigrants, quoted this as evidence that the township was amply protected.

Living in walled towns came naturally to Europeans, but in time the rampart obstructed the northward expansion of the settlement. Eventually it disappeared, bequeathing its name to Wall Street, the center of the American financial community.

Once the rampart had been completed, new immigrants began crowding into the space which it enclosed. They built themselves houses of timber or brick carried as ballast in ships from Europe. Behind their houses were gardens and barns in which they kept livestock of various kinds. There was no regular system of town planning. Each settler was entitled to build a house where it suited him, fencing in the new property. Streets gradually developed as narrow footpaths between the houses. The maze of narrow streets and tiny squares which still characterizes Manhattan south of Wall Street is a legacy from that first Dutch settlement.

The Dutch brought with them the art of canal building. When they came to New Amsterdam, there was already a deep inlet at the tip of the island. They enlarged this, gouging a canal through the town. This canal supplied the town with fresh seawater, and it was wide enough to be navigable. On both sides there were wide streets, and it was traversed by several footbridges. The market squares were also located alongside the canal, evidenced by the name Marketfield Street.

The canal was still there when the English took over the town, but the new inhabitants were unaccustomed to canals and threw in such a quantity of rubbish that it became thoroughly polluted and had to be filled in. The Broad Canal thus became today's Broad Street, which follows the course of the old canal all the way up to Exchange Place. On the way you pass Bridge Street, where a bridge once crossed the canal, and Beaver Street, which began life as a stream in which the Dutch trapped beavers. The young women of the colony used to do their washing at this stream, leaving it to dry on the bank. Their memory is perpetuated by the street name Maiden Lane.

The Dutch were also experts at extending the seashore and in this way reclaiming new land. This is exactly what they did on the Hudson River, creating the area now known as Battery Park, from which the ferries cross to the Statue of Liberty. In their day, the old sea bed was a verdant area of orchards and flourishing fields in an otherwise densely populated town.

Pearl Street was the site of an Indian village before the Europeans arrived. Modern archaeologists have been able to trace the village by means of a large number of broken oyster shells, oysters apparently having been the Indians' staple diet. This street was lined by numerous warehouses for foreign trade, and here was found one of the two town gates in the rampart. That gate was constantly guarded by soldiers and artillery. The other town gate was on Broadway, which had been the Indians' road to the south tip of the island. After the Dutch arrived, Broadway became the main road from New Amsterdam through the wilderness to the farms of Greenwich Village.

In 1629 the Dutch Company promised extensive areas of land in and around Manhattan to landowners who were able to recruit 50 tenant families. Each landowner was assured the title "patron" and a great deal of authority over his lessees. As a result of these regulations, big European estates, owned by powerful landowner, now grew up on both sides of the Hudson River and in the country surrounding the bay, but they were all subordinate to New Amsterdam, which was the seat of government and the center of all trade.

In contrast to the English colonists, the settlers in New Netherlands were not allowed autonomy. Instead they were completely subject to the law of the Governor,

which caused a great deal of discontent. While these colonies were emerging, the Indians of Manhattan continued growing their maize, hunting deer, foxes and bears, trapping salmon, trout and beavers in the lakes and water courses on the island.

One of the Governor's duties was to fill the Company ships with merchandise for their voyage back to Amsterdam. In the summer of 1624 the Governor of New Amsterdam was able to send back an initial cargo of more than 7,000 beaver pelts, as well as otter, mink and wild cat furs. Beaver pelts were to remain one of the town's principal trading commodities.

After Minuit had headed the colony, wisely and successfully for six years, he was recalled to Amsterdam, a number of the Company's directors being dissatisfied with his rule. After leaving Holland for good, he took charge—as we have already seen—of Sweden's colonial enterprise on the Delaware.

The relative calm prevailing between the Dutch and and Indians for the first ten years came to an end after the appointment, in September 1637, of William Kieft as Governor (the actual title was Director General) of New Amsterdam. The Indians felt themselves oppressed and badly treated by the whites, and the whites' sense of superiority was encouraged by the clergy. The first Reformed minister in the colony, Jonas Michaelis, declared that the natives of the country were thoroughly cruel and savage, consummately evil, children of the devil and even more barbarous than the Africans. Governor Kieft took these words to heart.

In the spring of 1637 Kieft prohibited all sale of powder and lead to the Carnarsee Indians, which until now had been regular practice. He also commanded the Indians to pay the colony a tax in the form of corn, hides and sewans (Indian money). If necessary, this tax was to be collected forcibly.

Things came to a head when the Mohicans attacked the Weckquasgeck Indians living in Upper Manhattan and New Jersey, pushing them southwards towards the Dutch township. Governor Kieft, who misinterpreted the situation but was in any case spoiling for a fight, ordered his troops to attack the Indian camp at New Jersey. The soldiers killed 120 Indians—most of them women and children who had been left behind—thereby precipitating a bloody war. The colonists lived in perpetual terror of the Indians, and several settlements were plundered and burned. While the Indian war was raging in New Netherlands, the Swedes peacefully expanded their colony on the Delaware, without any fear of Dutch entanglement. The war came to an end in the fall of 1639, when a peace settlement was finally thrashed out. Kieft departed from the colony in 1647 and was lost at sea that same year, off the coast of England during his homeward voyage.

The Governor was under great pressure to send home ships fully loaded with merchandise. This required him to extend his trading connections beyond Company territory to Swedish and English settlements. Perhaps this is why the Company appointed an experienced, seasoned warrior, Peter Stuyvesant, to succeed Kieft as Governor.

Stuyvesant, the son of a Reformed minister in Friesland, had seen active service in the West Indies at an early age. For ten years he was Governor of the colony of Curacao. In 1644, aged 52, he was badly wounded in an attack on the Portuguese Colony of St. Martin and had to have one leg amputated. As soon as he had recovered from the operation, he was made Governor of New Netherlands. In May 1647 he arrived—wooden leg and all—at his final destination, New Amsterdam.

Stuyvesant was raring to go, and he immediately set about improving the colony defenses. He strengthened

ramparts and gates and built a powerful fort down on the waterline, arming it with twenty guns and building barracks for 150 soldiers inside.

Close to the fort was a field by the Broadway estuary. This is where the soldiers underwent rigorous training and where the colonists sold livestock at a market held once every week. Perhaps it was also a games field. In any case, it is now known as Bowling Green.

Stuyvesant was a competent but rather headstrong governor. He set up a municipal government after the pattern of Dutch towns. He had a Pearl Street inn rebuilt into a two story stone building. This then served as the town hall, Stadt Huys, where the governors of the town—the sheriff, two mayors and five aldermen—had their offices.

The Governor himself lived in a nearby two story house, with a view of the harbor. That fine building of white brick has long since vanished, but its memory lives on as a street name—Whitehall Street. Stuyvesant also owned a farm outside the town, on the East River between present-day 15th and 16th Streets, which is why the area is called Stuyvesant Town.

Peter Stuyvesant's town had about one thousand inhabitants. Most of them were not native Dutch, because at that time the Dutch were far too prosperous to even consider emigrating. Instead New Amsterdam was colonized by numerous Protestant exiles, Walloons and Frenchmen. The first Jews in Manhattan—six adults and seventeen children—arrived here as shipwrecked fugitives from Brazil in 1654. Quite a few Swedes had settled here as well.

The Dutch Company was extensively involved in the slave trade, and there were many black slaves in the town. Some West Indian blacks who had assisted the Dutch in this wretched business had been set free as a reward. Some of them lived on farms in Greenwich Village, in the green area outside the town, and now had slaves of their own. There were also a number of Indians living in the town, which already incorporated many nationalities and a babble of languages.

Everyone regarded the town ramparts as a defense. Adjacent to the Pearl Street gate was a tavern where travelers coming from the north could catch their breath and thank their maker for guarding them from Indians and wolves during their journey through the wilderness from their homes in Harlem.

Stuyvesant was absolutely determined to gain control of the fur trade and, if possible, the Swedish colony on the Delaware for good measure, but at the same time he had to protect his own colony against his enemies. In 1653, when England, now ruled by the Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell, declared war on the Netherlands, New Amsterdam had to arm itself to face an attack from the English in New Haven. The ramparts were extended along the river banks, the fort was strengthened and all the able-bodied men of the town had to take turns standing guard at night.

This time the threat passed, but two years later the city was once again called to arms. The Dutch under Stuyvesant continued their oppression of the Indians, who, in 1655, once more rose in revolt, killing about a hundred farmers and burning down a large number of farms. In the long run Stuyvesant was to find it impossible to combine a policy of expansion with defense of the small township on the island of Manhattan.

Brief Interlude

On the 23rd of May, 1654, the day following the arrival of the Örnen, Johan Rising assumed office as the principal ruler of New Sweden. He did so in a solemn ceremony at Fort Christina, to which the local inhabitants had been summoned to take the oath of allegiance to the Swedish Crown and the West Indies Company. His instructions were read aloud. Johan Papegoja relinquished the governorship which he had held since Johan Printz' departure from the colony, and was now appointed Rising's second in command, together with Sven Skute.

The colony was in a dangerous state. Following Printz' departure, fifteen colonists had left and deserted to the English Colony of Maryland, the immediate neighbor to the south. They had been induced to flee by Gotfried Harmer (or Hermansson), who had come to New Sweden already in 1641 as a cabin watchman on board the Caritas, afterwards becoming Commissioner Hendrick Huygen's right-hand man. Some of the deserters, among them two freemen—Axel Stille and John Wheeler—had been a party to the protests against Governor Printz.

There was also unrest among the Lenape Indians on the river, because they were no longer receiving any gifts or barter goods from the Swedes. After Printz had left they had, for example, set fire to the abandoned Swedish fort of New Korsholm on the Schuylkill River. After the many sick voyagers had been brought ashore from the Örnen, an epidemic broke out among the Indians, and Lindeström writes that they believed the voyagers brought the disease and the Swedes intended to do them harm.

In addition, the Swedes had every reason to expect vigorous counter-measures by Governor Stuyvesant in New Amsterdam as a result of Rising's misguided zeal in forcibly ejecting the Dutch from Fort Casimir.

Rising showed great resolution in tackling the immediate problems. One of his first duties was to write to Governor Stuyvesant, informing him of his happy arrival on the Örnen together with a large number of people from Sweden. He also had to explain that he had commanded the surrender of Fort Casimir, but that this had been done on the orders of the Queen of Sweden. The Dutch colonists there had now placed themselves under the protection of the Swedish government. This, however, was too important a matter to be decided by officials who were only there to obey orders, and so he found it most advisable for the two governments to agree to the colonists' state of allegiance.

If Stuyvesant was surprised by the the blandness of Rising's letter, he covered it well. He replied in similar vein, congratulating the Swedes on their arrival and offering them friendship and good relations. Rising thanked him for his letter and for his part offered to be a good neighbor.

This was a classical instance of words cloaking thoughts. Stuyvesant was in fact furious over the surrender of Fort Casimir, and while Rising blithely supposed that the Dutch would never dare to try force on the Delaware River, Stuyvesant was already reporting the hostile assault on the fort to the heads of the Dutch West Indies Company. He requested instructions, and before long New Sweden was to receive its death-blow.

The sudden growth of its population from 70 to 360

following the arrival of the Örnen had plunged the colony into serious logistical difficulties. Many of the passengers were ill and confined to bed at Fort Christina, where they were very well cared for. The colony could not cope with this heavy increase in population. Things became critical when many of the new arrivals threatened to desert as an alternative to starvation. Rising managed to purchase some meat and fish from the Indians on the river, and in July the Deputy Commissioner, Jacob Svensson, returned on board the sloop from Hartford in Connecticut, where he had procured grain and other provisions. The worst of the crisis was now over.

To allay the unrest in the colony, Rising called all the freemen to a meeting at Printz Hall on Tinicum Island after church services on June 4th. Altogether 48 people gathered in the room, including eight freemen's widows. Rising told them about the Government's plans to colonize and defend the country, at which they all expressed their joy and declared themselves willing to live and die as faithful subjects of the Queen.

During the meeting Rising referred to the disturbances and conflicts which had occurred in the colony towards the end of Printz' governorship, and he felt that a judicial investigation of all accusations was necessary. One of the freemen, Mats Hansson Nylänning, replied: "We admit that life here has been turbulent and rebellious and that many have fled. This pains us." But he was unwilling to go any further into the question of who was to blame for the troubles. Everybody present signed an oath of allegiance which included an assurance of good behavior.

Rising also found it necessary to negotiate with the Indians, the Swedes' nearest neighbors, to find out how much he could rely on their friendship and to possibly restore the old trading connections. At his invitation, twelve or more Indian chiefs or sachems gathered at Printz Hall on June 17th. All of them belonged to the Lenape Tribes on the western side of the river, Rising tells us. They had an escort of twenty.

When they had all taken their seats, Rising made a speech translated by the interpreter, Gregorius van Dyck. He reminded them of their prevailing mutual friendship, and he assured them that, if they were prepared to stand by this neighborly harmony, the Swedes would remain their friends. Rising discussed the areas of land which the Swedes had bought from them, and they all replied that these purchases were permanent.

Gifts were then distributed. Each chief received a length of Frisian cloth, a cooking pot, an axe, a hoe, powder, lead and six awl points. There were also gifts for their retinue. After this the Indians withdrew to discuss their reply.

When they returned, one of them, Hackaman, spoke up, reproving the others for maligning the Swedes: "Look what good friends they are, giving us such gifts," he said, stroking himself several times on one arm as a sign of great friendship. Acknowledging the gifts on his own and everybody else's behalf, he declared that if formerly, under Big Belly (Johan Printz), they had been as one body and one heart—at this he stroked himself on the breast—they would now be as one head with the Swedes. As an example he mentioned the gourd, which was round and without scratches or cracks. And all this, Rising says, he expressed in such words, gestures and signs that the Swedes were amazed.

When Rising asked if the Indians were all of the same opinion, the others shouted their assent. A Swedish salute was now fired, which greatly pleased the Indians. They themselves then fired a volley with their guns, promising never to harm the Swedes and to refrain from killing their people or animals.

They also declared that the areas which they had previously sold to the Swedes were to remain Swedish. Rising then got out the original deeds of sale, and read the names of the signatories. The chiefs were very gratified at hearing their names, but at the mention of someone who had died they bowed their heads.

Another chief now stepped forward and complained that the Indians had caught a disease from the ship and were afraid that their whole people would die. In the evening they had seen a fire near the Örnen and believed that an evil power was on the ship. The chief wanted to borrow a boat for two medicine men to go there and remove the evil. But the Swedes asserted that what they had really seen was only salt water which had sparkled from the Örnen throughout its voyage. We calmed them, says Rising.

He then served them two large pots and other vessels full of sappan (corn soup) and strong drink, and they left Printz Hall very content and in good spirits. But Lindeström records that, while the escorts ate their fill, the big chiefs remained seated. They were allowed to take the leftover food "out into the country to eat".

The next day a chief of the Minquas Indians, Agaliquanes, visited Rising on the island of Tinicum. He received gifts and in return promised to keep peace with the Swedes and trade with them. The Swedes, he said, treated the Indians well, unlike the English in Maryland, who shot them on sight.

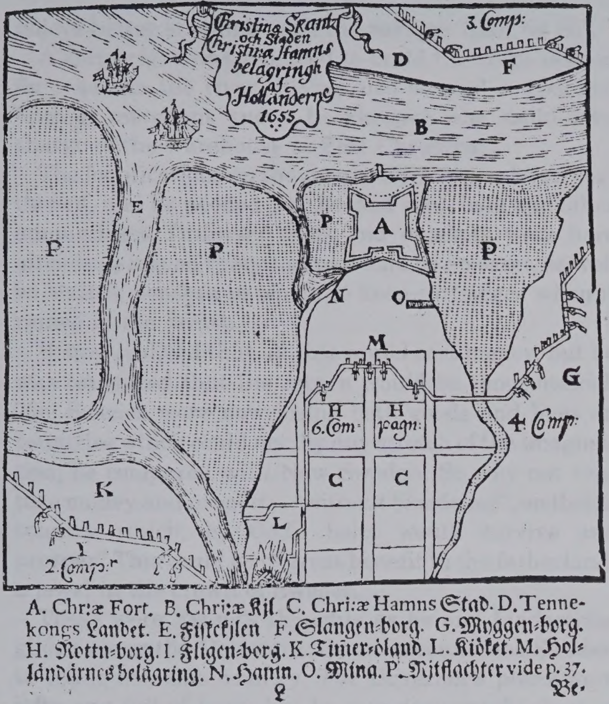
As soon as he arrived in America, Rising sent a letter to the English Governor of Maryland, Lorentz Lloyd, notifying him of his arrival and offering him friendship and neighborly relations. The Swedes had already had some correspondence with Governor Lloyd concerning the fifteen people who fled from New Sweden. Johan Papegoja had hired a company of Indians to recapture the deserters, but the latter refused to come quietly. A fight broke out and two people were killed. The heads were all that the Indians brought back with them.

Immediately after the meeting with the chiefs on Tinicum island Governor Lloyd arrived at Fort Christina with a delegation. Rising bid them welcome and gave a banquet for them. After they had eaten, Lloyd tendered a claim to the Swedish Colony on behalf of the English Crown. The country of the Delaware, he explained, had first been discovered by the English, and two people had received it from James I. Rising had no trouble refuting this. The King of England, he said, could not give away something he did not own. The Swedes had purchased the land and were now using it, which made them legally entitled to it. "To this Mr Lloyd answered not a word," Rising proudly reported home. Before the English company returned home, both sides promised friendship and continued good relations.

Now that calm had been more or less restored, Rising and Per Lindeström sailed up river on the yacht to inspect the colony. Lindeström was ecstatic over the natural abundance, and in his diary he praised the fresh water with its abundance of fish, the fertile soil, the "indescribable" quantities of grapes—white, red, brown and blue—and the fragrant forests with all their wild animals and birds. But Rising saw nothing of this. He was wholly preoccupied with his official duties and determining what to write home in his first report.

Various adversities had confronted him when he arrived on board the Örnen with a collection of sick and debilitated travelers. He found an empty country, tormented by desperation, mutiny and desertions. Things had now improved. The sick were back on their feet and he had bought food. Another year or two and the colony would be self-sufficient.

The mutiny died down, although the fire was still smouldering. The troublemakers in New Sweden would


Christina Skantz och Staden Christina Hamns belägringh af Holländerne 1655
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Per Lindeström's narrative includes a drawing of the Dutch siege of Fort Christina and the town of Christina with its regular street pattern.

have to be brought to justice, and this would require a law clerk and an executioner.

Many reforms would be needed to cultivate the country and make it prosper. To begin with, a map would have to be drawn of the entire colony, and Lindeström, the engineer, would then have to divide the ground into lots. The newly arrived emigrants wanted to buy land for cultivation, but they had no money to pay for it. He had therefore bought plots on the Company's behalf and entrusted them to young freemen, whom he had given seed corn and lent plowing oxen in return for half their annual yield. In this way the country would soon be under cultivation.

The main settlement should be concentrated along the Delaware River, between the forts of Christina and Trinity. Expansion could then proceed along the tributaries further upstream, to forestall the English and at the same time improve trading contacts with them and the Minquas Indians.

There were already many craftsmen in the colony, but it needed potters, lime-burners and brickmakers, carpenters, turners, tanners, shoemakers and saltpetermakers. A French hatter could do a lot of good, as could a wine grower and a bird-trapper, who would be able to trap thousands of geese and duck every spring and fall. Perhaps there was copper ore in New Sweden, and so it would be good for a mineral expert to come and take specimens.

The craftsmen could live at Christina, and Rising would get Lindeström to draw up a plan for a town near the fort. He intended calling this town Christinehamn. The colony was an important trading center. Swedish shipping could develop and there could be a great deal of trade between the Baltic countries and America and Africa. This kind of trade would give the Swedes good practice at sea, it would provide work for Swedish ships and broaden the scope of trade.

New Sweden had fine merchandise. The forests could yield a variety of timber products to sell to the West Indies. Tobacco was an important commodity. Every year the Dutch bought more than 50,000 beaver pelts from the Minquas Indians. All this trade could be attracted to New Sweden, because "no Christian nation

enjoys better standing with the savages than we do".

A shipwright was required to build the ships needed for trade on the river. Rising also wanted a wise and faithful merchant and a bookkeeper who could take charge of the warehouse at Fort Christina.

The fortifications on the river would have to be strengthened, and he needed powder and shot, lead and other ammunition. Ordinary guns and muskets were here already, but good French guns would be an asset, as well as leather pouches in which to keep cartridges when it rained in the forest.

Rising realized that all this would cost money, but he was convinced that the return would be thousandfold. The Swedes were now losing both goods and lives on countries which could not, by any stretch of the imagination, be compared with New Sweden. So why not venture money and property, "without bloodshed", on this, a country which, by God's help, would survive and prosper? This could be of great benefit to the fatherland, a jewel in the crown of Sweden.

These were Rising's thoughts as he and Lindeström glided along the Delaware. On no account was Sweden to relinquish this country. The Governor's plans were lofty and full of hope, but he was desperately short of time.

When the Örnen put out from New Sweden in July 1654, the captain had Rising's report with him. It had not been possible to pull a cargo together in the short time available, and the ship was only carrying a consignment of tobacco which Rising had purchased in Virginia and proposed selling on his own behalf in Göteborg.

Rising also sent a personal letter to the colony's patron, Erik Oxenstierna. In it he made two requests. One was for a piece of land at Fort Trinity, as a private retreat. At the second request, the new Chancellor must have raised his eyebrows. Rising wanted Oxenstierna to send him a good wife—no specifics included. In another context he spoke of the need to have women in the colony to look after the garden and livestock, spin and weave both linen and wool, keep fishing nets in good repair, malt corn, brew beer, cook, milk, make cheese and churn butter. This, obviously, was the kind of useful wife that Rising wanted. She never materialized.

The Final Year

Johan Rising, the last Governor of New Sweden, was a confident dreamer who conjured forth grand designs bearing no resemblance to reality, but he was also a zealous bureaucrat who loved to surround himself with an army of officials and sought to regulate every detail of the colonists' lives.

After Rising's arrival, Captain Johan Papegoja left the colony, returning to Sweden on board the Örnen. His marriage to Armegott Printz, daughter of the former Governor, had been stormy and unhappy. While he now returned with some of their children, she remained in the colony with the other children, vigorously safeguarding the family interests on Tinicum Island.

To succeed Papegoja, Rising appointed Captain Sven Skute his second-in-command, assisted by Lieutenant Elias Gyllengren. The other captain, Sven Höök, was put in charge of shipbuilding and boat supplies. Hendrick von Elswick was made Commissioner, while Jakob Svensson and Peder Mört were to keep an eye on the warehouse at Fort Christina.

Corporal Anders Olofsson was trusted with the vital task of supervising agriculture in New Sweden, while Ensign Peter Hansson Wendel was to direct clearing of the forest and establishing new homesteads. Gunnar Johan Stålkofta was given the task of procuring planks and building materials for the new houses. These appointments, Rising tells us, caused some discontent among the people, though it was not evident why.

For two days a representative committee remained in session to draft an ordinance regulating life in this Lilliput realm. The end product was an ordinance "of people, land, agriculture, timber and cattle" in four chapters and twenty-eight sections, promulgated by Rising on behalf of the Royal South Seas Company.

These provisions defined the rights and obligations of the various groups in the community—officers, soldiers, free peasants, craftsmen and indentured laborers. All officers above the rank of corporal were entitled to a free voyage to and from America. The soldiers in the Company's employ were to complete at least three years' service and, subject to good behavior, could be rewarded with a piece of land in perpetuity. If they resigned from the Company's service before their three years were up, they would have to pay part of their fare back to Sweden out of their own pockets.

After three years with the Company, the freemen would have to pay a fare of sixteen riksdalers per person for themselves, their wives, laborers and maids. Any farmer or craftsman taking a laborer or maid into his service would have to pay his or her fare after one year. "These indentured persons are to serve him for three years in return for board and necessary clothing."

The indentured laborers or "slavarna" (the slaves) as they were called in Swedish were people who had been forcibly deported from Sweden for some crime or those who had sold (indentured) themselves to the Company for a six-year period in return for free passage to America. After six years' service for the Company or for a freeman, the indentured laborer was to be fully emancipated. The entire produce of his six years' work in crafts, hunting and fishing, shipping and trade went to his master. A master failing to feed his servant properly could be fined. In addition, the indentured servant was to receive a monthly wage.

The farmers could buy land from the Company or the Indians, though in the latter case the purchase was subject to Company approval. The provisions fixed the price of an acre of land. Anybody breaking new land acquired hereditary title to it, "child after child". The farmers could also lease land from the Company, in which case the leasehold charge would be half their annual produce.

Nobody was allowed to fell large spruces and oaks without the Governor's permission. Anybody allowing another farmer's cattle to graze on his land was to keep one calf out of every two, returning one to the owner of the cattle. The same applied to goats, sheep and pigs.

New land was plowed in the summer. The newly arrived farmers built log cabins and were ordered to put fences around their land and prevent their livestock from damaging the neighbor's crops. The old freemen were required to lend their oxen and horses so that new land could be plowed and sowed with wheat and corn. The land overlooking the river at Christina was cleared, plowed and planted with wheat. Rising laid out orchards, and had a sawmill built at Naamans Kill.

Parallel to this work of cultivation, he was busy tracking down the ringleaders of the disturbances under Governor Printz. Two of them, the minister Lars Lock and the free farmer Olof Stille, were hailed before the court and charged with mutiny. A large number of the colony's inhabitants sided with the accused. Stille was acquitted and no firm testimony came forth against Lars Lock. Rising wanted to send the clergyman back to Sweden to face charges there, but he had to abandon this plan after Lock became seriously ill.

Another trial at Fort Christina attracted widespread interest. This was in early October, when two of the colony officials, Per Lindeström and Peder Mört, were accused of quarreling with an English colonist, Simon Lane, late one night at the fort and beating him black and blue. A large number of the freemen turned up for the proceedings. The other English colonists took the matter seriously, Rising tells us, but both the accused were acquitted after Lane withdrew his suit.

That summer Rising renewed his efforts to recover the fifteen colonists who had deserted to Maryland. He sent two of his men, Anders Olofsson and Konstantin Grönberg, to the English colony to ask the authorities there for assistance, but their mission ended in failure, despite Rising's promise of safe conduct. The English stated that the fugitives were not obliged to return, since they had not committed any crime and Governor Printz had refused to issue them Swedish passports. None of them returned to the colony with the Swedish officials.

Meanwhile the leader of the deserters, Gotfried Harmer, tried to entice other colonists away from New Sweden. He argued that the Swedes would be driven away from the river before long. One settler who responded to him was the Dutch fortress commander, Andreas Hudde, who had promised to serve the Swedes faithfully. A letter from Gotfried Harmer was found in his chest. He pleaded guilty and was acquitted. Three Swedish soldiers were indicted for attempting to desert. They were released on bail in return for a promise of good behavior.

While all this was going on, Lindeström drew a map of the colony from the coast to the waterfall. From this we can see that most of the new colonists had settled as near to the coast as possible, in the area between Fort Christina and Fort Trinity. This was a good, fertile area, with ideal soil for tobacco plantations, fine orchards, and for grazing. Several colonists also settled along the Christina River.

In addition, Rising compiled a meter-long map of the fort at Christina and a street plan of the town which was

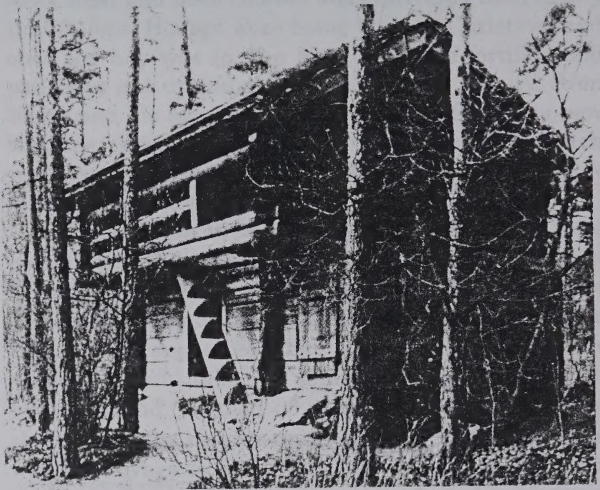
to be named Christinehamn. The town had square quarters or wards and parallel streets—much the same layout as Philadelphia was to be given thirty years later.

Johan Stålkofta and several others were busy cutting down trees on the eastern side of the river, opposite Tinicum, and floating timber to the new town. Houses began to be built, and a park filled with fruittrees was laid out and fenced in. A small inn was built outside the fort. The warehouse was strengthened and a smokehouse built next to it for curing meat and fish.

Lindeström's job also included strengthening the fortifications. The old Dutch fort, Fort Trinity, was particularly important, still being the key to the river. The protecting walls needed to be reinforced from the ground up, and new bulwarks would have to be constructed. Four 14 pound cannons were taken off the Örnen and installed behind battlements to command the river. Fort Christina was repaired and strengthened. Roads were built to connect the forts and the settlements.

The winter of 1654 was a hard one. The frost lingered, ruining the crops. The rivers froze solid, and when the thaw came, they broke their banks and swirling chunks of ice shattered the ramparts. But spring came early with pleasant weather. The threat of crop failure was averted by the purchase of seed corn from the English, and in the meantime the empty fields were planted with tobacco.

As summer approached, New Sweden prospered. A lot of new land had been cultivated. Corn had been planted and the colony had expanded and grown more populous. Food was abundant and varied, including bread and beer, different kinds of meat, fish and green vegetables. Most of what the colonists needed they took from their own farms, and in their spare time they went hunting and fishing. The women wove woolen fabrics, and the tailors and shoemakers were busy.



A two story farm cottage of the type built by the Swedes on the Delaware. Skansen, Stockholm.

The colonists lived in solid log houses which would seem by all accounts to have been of the northern Swedish type, entered from one end with kitchen, dining room and bedroom all in one. There was a second, larger type of log house, consisting of a big room, a hall and a larder with a loft. Some localities had two story cabins. These were solid structures which could also provide protection if the settlers came under attack.

The farms were isolated, and as yet New Sweden had no villages. But people enjoyed getting together. They would all assemble at church on Sundays. Services were held at three places in the colony. Lars Lock had served the church at Tinicum ever since 1648, and he was now being assisted by Petrus Hjort, at Fort Trinity, while Matthias Nertunius gave services in the Uppland settlement, where his parsonage was located.

Of these three ministers, Rising considered Nertunius the best preacher. Hjort, on the other hand, was worldly and spiritually weak, while Lock had the charge of mutiny hanging over his head all the time.

Services followed the Lutheran liturgy, and the church year was observed in the colony just as in Sweden, with special emphasis on Christmas and New Year. Rising was planning to levy a tax from the colonists, to finance the clergy's stipends and to maintain the church and school. He also thought that confiscated assets, fines and alms could be devoted to sustaining the poor and educating young children.

The tax, like so many other of Rising's plans, never materialized. But the colony did have a certain amount of relief for the poor, following the establishment of a charity fund to which the colonists were asked to donate. In the summer of 1655 the clergy distributed clothing, shoes and food to destitute people in the colony: Paul Malich's children, Per Paulsson's mother, blind Kirstin and both her children, Clas Johansson's daughter and others.

Superstition and belief in witchcraft had accompanied the colonists here from their native country. Karin, "the Finnish woman", was accused of being a witch and spent a long time incarcerated at Fort Christina. On being released she was obliged to beg to support herself and her children.

Although church life was very much the same as in Sweden, two activities appear to be missing. The clergy do not seem to have brought any parish registers with them, and there is no trace of a parish meeting or any other form of popular self-government at this time. In New Sweden the Governor was omnipotent and the people had no choice but to obey.

Rising reported home in June 1655 that the colony was in fairly good shape. All the colonists were busy.

More land had been cleared and cultivated than at any time before. Houses were being built at Christina, and once the hay was in, the town would be fortified and palisades put up round the fort. At Fort Trinity, Sven Skute and his men were in the process of erecting new bastions, designed by Per Lindeström. The earlier Dutch residents who had promised to obey the Swedes had now moved to Manhattan.

Rising went on to report that various supplies were lacking and that more colonists and skilled craftsmen were needed. Help needed to come quickly, otherwise trade would grind to a halt and the Swedes would be ruined. He suggested that future ships bound for America should take the same route as those coming from England. Instead of passing the Canaries, they should take the shorter route north of Scotland. In this way the voyage from Sweden to North America should take only five or ten weeks, and people on board would not have to succumb to the heat further south.

Their neighbors on the river continued to harass the Swedes. The Dutch on Manhattan tried to obstruct them in various ways, and the English in Maryland continued enticing people away from New Sweden and refusing to release them. As yet, though, there was no real cause for alarm.

The Indians on the Delaware were quiet for the time being, but the Swedes needed to buy their friendship with gifts of various kinds, so as to be safe from attack. The previous winter the Indians had attacked an isolated homestead, murdering the settler's wife and plundering his home. They promised to make amends for this crime and had in fact paid part of the fine. Swedes and Indians, Rising reported, were now associating. "They hold us in affection because we do them no harm," but, he added, they were not really trustworthy.

The Swedish Governor was fully preoccupied with his

various official duties and was not very interested in his Indian neighbors—the savages , as he called them. Nor is there anything to suggest that he recommended any further missionary activity among them. They did, however, arouse the interest of Per Lindeström, who had ample opportunity to study them during his travels in New Sweden. He recorded a great deal about the language of the Lenape Indians, their religious beliefs and way of life, and described them at considerable length in his American travelogue.

Per Lindeström Describes the Indians

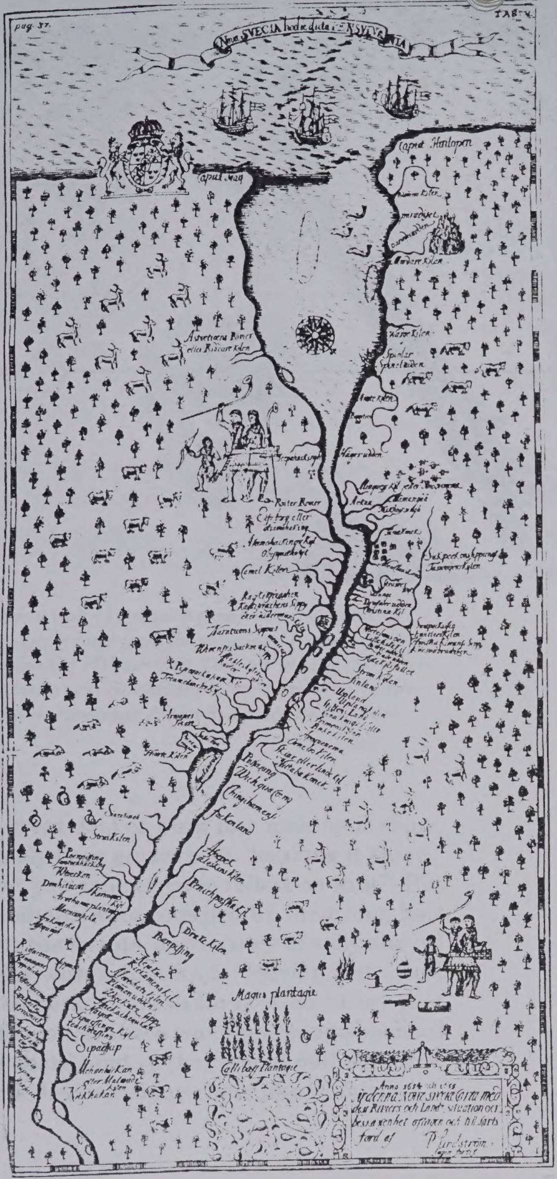
The Lenape Indians were the Swedes' nextdoor neighbors on the Delaware, and indeed, Per Lindeström refers to them as "our savages". He was one of the Swedes who regarded the Indians, not as an inferior species but as fellow human beings with many admirable qualities.

The Indians, he writes, are called savages not because they are furious and wild but because they are misguided in their religion. They are ingenious and deft with their hands, willing and quick to learn and understand. They are well-proportioned people, slim and straight as candles. They are brave and bold, swift as horses, diligent and hard-working, and patient in tribulation. They are endowed with a good memory and are skilled conversationalists. They also have their bad points, he tells us, they are "a type of people with a variety of qualities".

The Lenape Indians were a tribe of the northeastern woodland Indians. Each tribe had adapted to its environment. Housing, clothing, food and crafts depended on the material available locally, with the result that ways of life varied a great deal from one tribe to another.

The Delaware region was one big wilderness, and these Indians used the bark of the trees to build their houses. During the cold season of the year they lived in longhouses which could accommodate between five and twenty families. They built their houses by driving poles into the ground and securing rods between them, after

Per Lindeström's map of the colony in New Sweden, 1654–1655. Swedish Military Records Office, Stockholm.

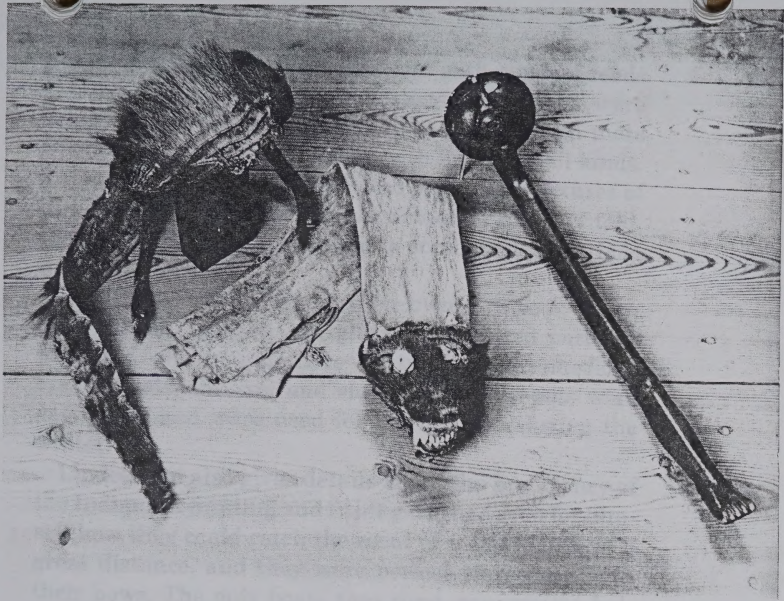


which, Lindeström tells us, they lined the walls and roofs with bark. The houses had one door at each end. He looked into these houses and was able to report that the roofs had an aperture one ell long on either side of the ridge to let out the smoke from the fires directly underneath. During winter a fire was kept burning day and night. At night the Indians lay on separate sides of the fire, their heads to the wall.

The chief's squaw was the mistress of the house and kept an eye on his possessions during his absence. The Indians ate at least one cooked meal a day and had plenty of meat and fish which they had brought home. It was the chief's squaw who decided which women were to do the cooking on each occasion. They used copper and brass cooking vessels acquired from the Christians by barter. These were hung from the roof ridge over the fire. It was also the chief's wife who ladled out the food for distribution to the people.

With their food they ate bread or pancakes. Their bread was made from corn meal. They obtained oil from nuts and they used the lard from bears and wild pigs as cooking fat. Lindeström commends the corn which the Indians taught the Swedes to plant, calling it "a thousandfold blessing of God".

The Indians bathed in a house resembling a Scandinavian sauna. It was built of stone and mud and arched like a baking oven. Inside the oven was the big bath chamber. Into the oven they would put a great heap of red hot stones, over which they would pour water. While this was being done, Lindeström records, one could hear "an unspeakable shouting and roaring". Next thing they all rushed out and threw themselves into the cold river. Then he himself crouched in the bathhouse and made a noise "after the same fashion". Their hair was the Indians' pride and joy. As long as they had it, they were strong and healthy. Most of them let their hair grow



An Indian headdress, a wolf's head with pouch attached, and an Indian club. These objects come from the woodland Indians of eastern America and date from the 17th century. They are unique and can be seen at Skokloster Castle near Stockholm. According to the tradition they were a present from Governor Johan Printz to General Carl Gustaf Wrangel.

long and put a great deal of work into making it shine. They used to apply bear grease to it, "making it shine," he says, "so that you can see your reflection in it". But the woodland Indians were impeded by their long hair when hunting in the forests, and so they usually shaved it off at the sides with a flint knife, leaving just a tuft from forehead to neck. Lindeström goes on to say that the Lenape Indians felt there was something shameful about having a beard, and so they would pull out facial hair by the roots, leaving shiny chins like women's.

The men often wore feathers in their hair and painted their faces and the bare patches of their heads to please the spirits. On their arms they wore brass and tin rings, and they had wide belts around their waists. On their backs they used to carry a bag which was beautifully worked and in which they kept their possessions: food, tobacco and pipe, bow and arrows and money (in the form of scallop shells threaded onto a string). On their feet they wore deerskin moccasins which reminded Lindeström of the shoes worn by the Lapps in the far north of Sweden. The first few years of their lives the Indians went about stark naked. When they grew older they fastened a skirt of leather or fabric at their belts. Lindeström recalls that the most eminent of the Indians had now begun to cover their nakedness with knee-length shirts bought from the Christians.

The women wore their hair long but sometimes braided it in coils or wore it in a bun. Otherwise they dressed much the same as the men.

The women used to bind their papooses onto a plank with a few strips of cloth to make them grow straight. A mother would carry both child and plank on her back. Indian children did not cry as often as Christian children but were very patient, Lindeström observes. The Indians loved their children and, unlike Christian harlots, would never abandon them.

The children quickly learned to obey the rules of the tribe. Every boy had his bow and arrow, while the girls played with dolls made from leather or corn cobs. They played various ball games, wrestled, ran races and played treasure hunt in much the same way as the colonists' children in New Sweden. They also learned many tales told to them by the older members of the tribe, and living, as they did, close to the water they learned to swim.

The Indians were very skillful at making baskets with

a bottom and lid made of bark and with rings of reeds twisted round them. Other baskets and dishes were braided from willow twigs. They also made rush mats which they painted beautifully with figures of all kinds. They carved neat-looking tobacco pipes with pictures of birds and animals on the bowls. Sometimes, we are told, the bowl was made big enough to accommodate a whole fist full of tobacco.

The Indian women made their own clay pots, which they shaped, painted and glazed. They used patterns inherited from their mothers—natural designs like flowers, animals, the sun and stars. Some clay pots were very large and were used for storing corn during the winter.

Lindeström also gives details about the proficiency of the Indians at hunting and fishing. He had seen for himself how they could catch the scent of wild animals at a great distance, and they were perfect marksmen with their bows. The only boats they used were canoes hollowed out of logs. They would fell a large tree by burning it at the root, and the boat would then be made by gradually burning a cavity into the trunk, using a strong mussel shell to remove all the charred wood.

The Indians loved dancing, often as a prayer to the spirits of maize, rain and sun. After the first hunting foray of the year, they usually held a feast, after which any food left over would be sacrificed to the Great Spirit called Manito. "Then they sing and dance, and when they rejoice and are happy, they shout and sing as follows: 'Hägginj, hä, hä, hä, hägginj, hä.' This is repeated and continued and can be heard far through the forest."

They had an expert knowledge of medicine and all manner of medicinal herbs. The Swedes did not know any cure for rattlesnake bites. Lindeström had heard tell of two or three Swedes getting bitten by these speckled, black and yellow serpents. The people quickly swelled up and died within an hour. But the Indians knew about a kind of grass roots which they chewed to a pulp and placed on the bite. The juice extracted the venom and the patient recovered.

He is full of praise for the Indians' "precious and wonderful" medicines, but on the other hand he records that they had no cure for the infectious diseases—typhus, smallpox and others—which were brought ashore by the Europeans and were now rife among them. He writes of the Mantesser Indians living by the rapids on the uppermost reaches of the Delaware River, where they hunted and fished. They had now been decimated by war and "otherwise by death".

At the beginning the Indians were very amicably disposed towards the Europeans and received them hospitably, Lindeström records. They helped them in every way and provided them with game and fish. Gradually, though, they allowed themselves to be ordered around by the Christians, and without realizing it became a species of slaves to the newcomers.

Concerning Indian trade with the Christians, he says that the Indians were always cheated because they could not understand how costly the skins of beaver and otter really were in the eyes of the Europeans. If the Christians had paid for the skins in Indian money they might have been expensive enough, but now that they paid for them with desirable commodities, they were able to make an "immoderate" profit.

Lindeström's book contains many examples showing how cheaply the Christians could obtain costly pelts and hides. The Indians wanted axes, hoes, spades, shovels, scissors, knives, mirrors, sewing needles and beads and were ready to pay well for them. To them the thick, coarse and inexpensive woolen fabric they wrapped themselves in was just as valuable as the finest and

richest scarlet cloth.

The Christian nations had previously agreed not to sell guns, powder and shot to "the savages", but after the English in Virginia had broken this law and begun selling guns to the Indians, the Swedes had followed suit, supplying them with powder and shot. Lindeström assures us that a good profit was to be made on this trade.

The Indians, he says, were dangerous and cruel enemies. Blood feuds prevailed among them. If a member of the tribe was killed by someone from a second tribe, another tribe member would soon be dispatched to kill the murderer or another person in the second tribe, and in this way war would immediately break out. Both the Dutch in New Amsterdam and the English in Virginia had had to fight prolonged Indian wars. During one war in 1644, the Minquas Indians in Virginia killed 500 English colonists—men, women and children—and burned down many isolated settlements.

When the English sent a large force of soldiers against one of the Indian camps, the Indians surrounded the soldiers and attacked them from the rear. They killed many of them and took 15 of them prisoner, whom they cruelly tortured to death. The English retaliated similarly.

Until then the Swedes had been spared Indian wars. Lindeström was grateful for the peaceful relations with the Lenape Indians, because the Indians made better friends than enemies.

The Extinction of New Sweden

Towards the summer of 1655 rumors had begun to circulate that the Dutch were preparing to attack New Sweden. As Rising was able to report home, feverish efforts were now being made in the colony to strengthen the defenses of Forts Christina and Trinity. Meanwhile the Governor was impatiently awaiting the promised new expedition from Sweden, bringing reinforcements, arms and supplies. But the summer passed without any news from home.

Stuyvesant's report of Rising's "violent and hostile" behavior at Fort Casimir had been met with astonishment and indignation by the directors of the Dutch West Indies Company. They wrote to the Governor, urging him to take steps to restore the status quo on the Delaware and to expel the Swedes from the river. The attack was prepared in Holland, where the recruiting drums were beaten and a ship, De Waag ("The Wave"), was chartered by the mayor and council of Amsterdam and fitted out with 36 guns and 200 soldiers. The expedition was speeded up after reports came in from Stockholm of preparations there to send a new vessel to New Sweden.

De Waag put out from the port of Amsterdam on May 21st. The captain carried a letter for Stuyvesant across the Atlantic, requiring him to lose no time in undertaking the expedition with all bravery. As soon as the ship

reached New Amsterdam, on August 3rd, the Dutch Governor summoned a council of war, where it was decided to prepare for quick action. The soldiers were recruited with promises of good pay and living allowances and compensation in the event of injury. Four yachts, a French privateer, L'Espérance and the "Flying Boat" Liefde were fitted out to escort De Waag. The task force numbered 600–700 soldiers.

Surprise being of the essence, all possible precautions were taken to keep the expedition secret. But Rising had his own channels of information. A number of Indians got wind of Stuyvesant's preparations and hurried to Fort Christina to report that the Dutch were approaching. Rising immediately sent two of his men, Hans Månsson and Jacob Sprint, as scouts to New Amsterdam, and on returning five days later they were able to tell him that Stuyvesant was preparing an attack, to be delivered by four large ships, many small ones and several hundred soldiers.

Rising immediately called a council of war. Sven Skute was ordered to defend Fort Trinity and to prevent the Dutch from getting past the fort on the river. The people were issued with muskets, swords and pikes, and supplies of food were laid up in the fort. A number of freemen were enlisted among the soldiers.

Stuyvesant and his big fleet arrived in the Swedish river on the 29th of August. He anchored outside Fort Elfsborg, now abandoned and demolished, where his people camped for the night. Two days later the fleet sailed past Fort Trinity "to the beat of drums, the braying of trumpets and a great deal of bravado", Lindeström writes, without Captain Skute trying to stop them. The troops went ashore and a Dutch officer asked the fort to surrender. Lieutenant Gyllengren, who met him, declared that this was impossible, the fort was Swedish Crown property.

Stuyvesant brought his artillery ashore. Gyllengren had a dispute with the Dutch officer, after which Skute parleyed with Stuyvesant. He met him with an escort of four musketeers at the rampart halfway between the fort and the Dutch troops. They agreed to meet again. Skute tried to urge his soldiers to fight against the overwhelming odds, but they were rebellious and refused to obey orders, as was later attested by Gyllengren, Lindeström and Hjort the minister. One soldier, Gabriel Forsman, was shot dead while trying to escape across the rampart by Lieutenant Gyllengren. His was the only life lost in the fall of New Sweden.

At 2 o'clock in the afternoon of the 1st of September, Captain Skute decided to surrender to the superior force and hand over Fort Trinity to the Dutch on the condition that the Swedish Crown retained all weapons and munitions and officers and private persons their personal property.

The people at the fort understood what had happened when they heard the guns on board the ships and in the camp firing volleys. Two hours later they saw their captain approach on foot, escorted by 75 Dutch soldiers. These entered the fort, occupied the sentry posts, hauled down the Swedish flag and substituted their own. They then fired a Dutch salute from the fort, to which the guns of the outworks and on board the ships promptly replied. The fort again underwent a change of name, reverting to Fort Casimir.

The Swedish troops had been given an honorable surrender and permission, as Lindeström writes, to march off with flag flying, fuses lit, muskets loaded, drums beating and fifes playing, bullets in their mouths —but the exasperating part was that Captain Skute had forgotten to specify in the agreement the soldiers' destination. Stuyvesant hastened to draw attention to this fatal omission once the Swedish garrison was drawn up

outside the fort.

And while Skute "stood there in shame over his agreement", the Swedish soldiers were transferred in a body to the Dutch ships while their officers had to walk back to the fort and remain there during the rest of the fighting. In the evening they were lavishly entertained at Stuyvesant's own table, but to remind them that they were now prisoners, two musketeers with muskets and burning torches were stationed behind each of them. For the rest of the time they were kept well supplied with food and drink.

The following day the Dutch fleet continued to Fort Christina, where soldiers and artillery were taken ashore and the fort secured by land and water. As soon as Rising heard that Fort Trinity had surrendered, he tried to reinforce the small garrison at Christina with recruits from the farms. He mentions farmers Mats Hansson, Peter Rambo, Sven Gunnarsson, Hans Månsson and Mats Bengtsson, who left their homes in the evening. They first made their way to Tinicum Island, where a few more soldiers and farmers joined up with them. From here they crossed in a boat and two canoes to Fort Christina, arriving there in the early dawn.

The siege lasted for two weeks. The Swedes inside the fort, only numbering about 30 armed men, were unable to make any sorties against the Dutch positions. The very first day Stuyvesant sent a message to Rising, demanding the surrender of the fort and the entire river. He sent his letter by an Indian. Rising rejected the demand in a few words, sending the Indian back with his reply.

Meantime the Dutch destroyed the new houses in the town of Christina. They occupied the rest of the colony, slaughtered the farmers' livestock and ransacked the farms. They also went ashore at Tinicum, depriving Mrs Papegoja at Printz Hall of everything she owned. The church and the big storehouse on the island were looted, and they removed the rigging and sails from the yacht. The Indians on the river took advantage of the Swedes' weakness by joining in the looting.

On September 7th Rising sent some of the men at the fort to Stuyvesant, who was staying at Fort Casimir. They were Hendrick von Elswick, Gregorius van Dyck and Peter Rambo, and their mission was to reject the Dutch claim to the area, demand a withdrawal, threaten war between Sweden and the Netherlands. But as an alternative they could propose peace and friendship, since both were Christian nations and America big enough for the two of them. The Dutch Governor curtly replied that he could only obey his superiors and follow their recommendations.

Deliberations continued during the next few days on neutral ground between the fort and the camp. They were fruitless. Stuyvesant demanded immediate, unconditional surrender, failing which he threatened to destroy the fort. He did indeed strengthen his batteries, but despite all his threats and warlike preparations, not one shot was fired by either side.

In two weeks Rising decided to surrender, after he and his officers had talked the matter over and realized that further resistance would be pointless. The surrender was signed on the 15th of September. The terms were the same as at Fort Trinity, but Rising did not forget to include a safe conduct article. Everybody wishing to do so would be allowed to return to Sweden with all their own possessions and those of the Crown and the Company. Those Swedes—officers, soldiers and free farmers who wanted to remain in the colony under Dutch jurisdiction would be allowed to retain their property and practice their Lutheran religion without constraint.

The surrender included a "secret" article to the effect that Rising and Elswick would be allowed during the

voyage home to go ashore either in England or in France. Stuyvesant was to lend Rising 300 Dutch pounds for his voyage, on security of the guns and ammunition belonging to the Swedish Crown. This money was to be repaid in Amsterdam six months later. It is doubtful whether anyone else except himself and the Dutch Governor knew about this arrangement. Rising never paid the money back. The Swedish guns were taken to New Amsterdam, where they were put up on the ramparts of the fort, so Acrelius tells us.

The procedure at Fort Trinity was now reiterated at Fort Christina. The tiny garrison marched off with its flags flying. A salute was fired from the fortress and replied to. The Dutch troops marched in and occupied Fort Christina. The Swedish flag was lowered and the Dutch flag hoisted over the fort. The colony of New Sweden had ceased to exist.

While the Swedish soldiers were quartered in the houses near Christina, the officers were allowed to retain their quarters inside the fort. A remarkable episode now ensued. Shortly after the soldiers had marched out, Stuyvesant met the Swedish officers, "stomping on his wooden leg" as Lindeström puts it, gave them his hand and made them a surprising proposition. He offered to let them have Fort Christina back, with all the land north of it, in return for Dutch retention of Fort Casimir and the land down river. He maintained that Swedes and Dutch would then live in friendship along the river and conclude treaties with one another. And he repeated Rising's words about the country being big enough for both of them.

We do not know what lay behind Stuyvesant's proposition, but we can guess. A few days after he left New Amsterdam, the Indians had attacked the Dutch colony and killed many settlers. The council in the colony sent him a letter, urging him to consider returning home instead of fighting on the Delaware. Stuyvesant received this letter a few days before Rising decided to surrender.

The council's letter probably forced the Governor to reconsider his plans. If he left the forts weakly manned, the Swedes would be likely to recapture them, leaving him back where he started. Perhaps he felt best advised to make the Swedes this generous offer before hurrying back home.

Rising convened his officers, Peter Rambo and a few other farmers to discuss Stuyvesant's proposal but they were all against it. They were full of rage against the Dutch and were certain that the King of Sweden would revenge the insult. They did not wish to prejudice their position by making a treaty with the Dutch which might minimize the damage done to the Crown property. They decided to send Elswick to Stuyvesant with a message that they rejected the offer and wished to adhere to the surrender.

In the settlement, Rising obtained permission to investigate the behavior of Sven Skute and his officers in connection with the surrender of Fort Trinity. On the 24th of September he held a court martial in which Skute was charged with failing to fire on the Dutch ships when they passed the fort, disobeying orders and not consulting his officers. But Skute defended himself by putting the blame on his rebellious soldiers, and was supported by some of his officers. Rising must have observed that things were the same at Fort Christina.

Sven Skute elected to stay on in America after Rising, his officials and a small body of soldiers and farmers had returned to Sweden in November 1655. They left on three ships from New Amsterdam, and our only narrative concerning the return voyage comes from Per Lindeström. Through the carelessness of the crew he lost all his surveying instruments at sea and a highwayman

stripped him of all he possessed while he was traveling through Holland and Germany.

The voyage to New Sweden was the one and only adventure in Lindeström's life. As a disillusioned NCO he served the next few years in Jämtland, Värmland and the Stockholm Archipelago. In the spring of 1659 he was reprimanded for drunkenness and indolence on duty, and at the beginning of the 1660's he disappeared from the army lists. He spent the last years of his life at Brosäter farm near Delsbo Lake in Värmland, dying in 1692. Racked with pain, he was permanently confined to bed, and this was where he wrote his travelogue, addressed to the King in the vain hope of obtaining some assistance. Writing about New Sweden, he experienced all over again the excitement and hopes of his youthful voyage. The Örnen weighed anchor and set sail, and Lindeström transformed his life's failure into a work of art, an immortal journey.

Rising too had a meager future ahead of him in Sweden. He went to see his patron, Erik Oxenstierna, and was appointed superintendent of the Prussian and Pomeranian Customs. But after losing this appointment in 1660 he was unable to find a new source of income. In the 1660's he had to defend himself against accusations of blame for the loss of New Sweden, and these suspicions prevented him from obtaining the back pay and expenses he was entitled to. Meanwhile he wrote an important economic treaties on commerce, but he was chronically in debt and sometimes too poor to raise the money for paper and ink. He died in Stockholm in 1672, utterly destitute, in a wretched hovel which he rented from Jöns Krook, a master tailor in the Old Town of Stockholm.

Those Who Remained

While all this was happening in New Sweden, the Swedish Government, unaware of the disaster, was busy fitting out a new America expedition. New capital was injected into the New Sweden Company, and its privileges were renewed. An old ship, the Mercurius, was purchased in Holland and brought to Göteborg for rigging up. Ten iron cannon and many other commodities were brought from Stockholm, and after a great deal of exertion Anckarhielm managed to get the ship ready for sailing.

The ship was to carry colonists. The Swedish Privy Council stuck to its plan of making New Sweden a penal colony. A watchman called Jöns Gustavsson had entered the game reserve at Omberg, shooting a doe and her calf. The Council sentenced him to transportation to New Sweden with the new expedition.

News of the impending departure of the Mercurius provoked an emigration rush among the Finnish colonists in the forests of Värmland. Candidates now flocked to Göteborg. Anckarhielm selected about a hundred who were allowed on board the ship, but more than a hundred others were left behind in port. Johan Papegoja, the commander on board, was dismayed at those left behind. There they stood weeping and wailing, for the good reason that they had sold everything and traveled a long distance at their own expense. All that remained for them now, he wrote, was to take to the highways as beggars.

Only four of the emigrants on board the ship were Swedes. The rest were Finns with their wives and children. Papegoja, not being able to understand their language, had an interpreter, Henrik Olsson, who had also been in New Sweden before. Another man returning to the colony was Hendrick Huygen, who had been named Commissioner and was Papegoja's right-hand-man on the voyage.

Also on board was the surgeon Hans Janeke from Königsberg, who had served in New Sweden for several years during the 1640's and now wished to return there.

The Mercurius put out from the port of Göteborg on the 10th of November, 1655, two months after the surrender of Fort Christina. Contrary winds kept the ship laid up at New Elfsborg for two weeks, after which the voyage was resumed. The Mercurius was at sea for almost four months, apparently without any serious incident. On the 13th of March, 1656 it reached Fort Casimir on the Delaware.

Papegoja and Huygen showed their instructions to the Dutch commander. When told what had happened to the colony, they asked permission to go ashore. The sight of the ship and its large crew must have terrified the commander. What was he to believe? Had the Swedes come to recover the fort and the colony? He forbade them to go ashore and had them arrested as enemies of the State.

Papegoja immediately sent a letter of protest to Governor Stuyvesant, asking permission to go ashore and purchase supplies for the return voyage to Sweden. He also asked for Huygen's release. The commander sent a letter of his own.

The council in New Amsterdam immediately gathered to deliberate. Nerves were clearly on edge. It was decided to send a troop of soldiers to Delaware to prevent any disturbances amongst the Swedes. The commander was ordered to prevent the crew of the Mercurius from going ashore. Instead the Swedes were to go on to New Amsterdam, where they would be able to buy provisions for their return voyage.

Huygen obtained permission to go to New Amsterdam and plead his cause, but to no avail. The council declared that if the Swedes did not leave Delaware of their own accord they would be expelled by force, and to show that it meant business it decided to send the warship de Waag to the river.

Johan Papegoja writes that he intended obeying Stuyvesant's orders and sailing to Manhattan, but when the Indians saw this they assembled in large numbers and came on board the Mercurius, begging the Swedes, in the name of old friendship, to stay. Papegoja then weighed anchor, fired the Swedish salute and sailed up river to New Göteborg, where the colonists went ashore on the island of Tinicum. This all happened without a single shot being fired from Fort Casimir.

Meantime the de Waag arrived in Delaware with Huygen on board. As it entered the river, the ship went aground on a sand bank. When the captain saw that the Swedes were peaceably disposed, he asked them to help in re-floating the ship and in calming the Indians, who were anxious for their Swedish friends. Once the ship had been floated again, the captain sailed back to New Amsterdam.

The Mercurius returned to Göteborg that summer with a large cargo of tobacco. Johan Papegoja also decided to return to Sweden after failing to persuade his wife Armegott to leave Printz Hall and accompany him. Mistress Armegott spent a few years in Sweden during the 1660's but returned to Delaware. She was an independent woman who managed her farm and distilled schnapps from corn, but she had difficulty getting servants and had a reputation with the other Swedes for being unduly demanding and tyrannical. She returned

to Sweden for good in 1676 and died in 1695 at Läckö Castle, the home of her son Bernt, after a life full of activity and adventure.

In 1658 the former Swedish colony numbered about 600. It has been estimated that about 400 were Swedes and Finns, divided between 130 households. The remainder were Dutch, English and German settlers. The Swedish language predominated, and was evidently spoken by the majority.

Most of the Swedes and Finns lived in the area near Christina and further north. The Dutch gave them some autonomy and they quickly elected a governing body with Sven Skute as captain, Anders Larsson Dalbo as lieutenant and Jacob Svensson as ensign. This government was based on Tinicum Island.

For the maintenance of order, Gregorius van Dyck was elected sheriff, while Olof Stille, Mats Hansson, Peter Gunnarsson Rambo and Peter Larsson Cock were made deputies.

Skute, Dalbo, Svensson and van Dyck then served for many years as officials of the colony. We have already mentioned Olof Stille, from Penningby in Uppland. Mats Hansson had been a gunner at Fort Christina. He came to New Sweden on board the Caritas in 1641, together with Stille, both having been sentenced to sail to America. He became a freeman in 1646.

Peter Rambo, previously called Ramberg, came from Västergötland. He crossed over as a freeman on the Kalmar Nyckel in 1640 and had been a colony official. Peter Cock was a soldier in Sweden who had been imprisoned at Smedjegården, Stockholm, for criminal offense. He too was sentenced to transportation and came over on board the Caritas in 1641. He spent the first few years growing tobacco on the Schuylkill, but in 1648 he figures as a freeman. His wife, Margareta, was born in Roslagen in 1626.

The four deputies seemed to have stuck together through thick and thin as they had been joint signatories of the protest against Governor Printz in 1653.

The Swedish colonists showed no inclination whatsoever to revolt against the new Dutch régime. They concentrated on plowing their fields, tending their livestock and breaking new land in the wilderness. They gladly co-operated with the Dutch, to the benefit of both sides. The Dutch built bridges, improved the roads and tried to develop tobacco farming, while the Swedes cut masts and planks for their ships and sold provisions to their soldiers. On the other hand they resolutely refused to perform Dutch military service, and Governor Stuyvesant, unable to force them, was obliged to acquiesce.

For many years Lars Lock was the only minister in the former Swedish colony. His stipend was paid out of donations. He gave services in the church on Tinicum Island and frequently went on pastoral tours, instructing his parishioners in the various settlements. He had been a vigorous opponent of Governor Printz, and he remained a turbulent character. In 1661 he divorced his wife, who eloped with Jacob Young, a trader and Indian interpreter, to Maryland. Because he had many children he soon took a young woman as his second wife. The Dutch authorities, however, refused to recognize the marriage because he himself had solemnized it. He was deprived of his position for some time, and it was not until he had made a petition to Stuyvesant that his new marriage was confirmed and he once again became entitled to practise his ministry.

Lock had other worries too. He was prone to overindulge in schnapps, which sometimes made him violent. On one occasion he was badly beaten about by a parishioner, Peter Meyer, an ex-soldier from Göteborg, but the matter was smoothed over and Lock continued serving the Swedes and Finns single-handed until in

A living museum illustrating the town of the Pilgrim Fathers has been built up in Plymouth.

1688 he died of old age.

It was not only in language and religion that the Swedes and Finns differed from their European neighbors. In 1620, the English Pilgrim Fathers arrived in America and settled in Plymouth, south of Boston. They founded a small village which has now been meticulously reconstructed by historical experts. This village consisted of about twenty houses, barns and cowsheds flanking a street. The houses were surrounded by kitchen gardens and fields for the pigs, goats and poultry. The village itself was surrounded by a palisade of pointed stakes, to keep out the Indians. The men practised shooting, and the defensive nature of the village was emphasized by a massive fort outside the palisade. The fort also served as a meeting place.

The new groups of English immigrants following in the footsteps of the Pilgrim Fathers lived in villages of the same kind, and so too did the Dutch settlers on the Hudson River. At this time most of the farmers in Sweden and Finland lived in villages, which makes it all the more remarkable that the Swedes and Finns in New Sweden never established villages, but preferred isolated homesteads.

One of Linnaeus' pupils, Per Kalm, who visited the old colony territory in 1749, writes that the homesteads of the old colonists were not grouped into villages or concentrated in one place. Each farmer lived on his own, with his fields, meadows, woods and land surrounding his farm, separated and partitioned from other farms. And the scattered homesteads were separated by the deep forest with its high broadleaf trees. There were only occasional patches here and there where the Indians had previously grown crops.

The Dutch authorities tried in 1660 to force the Swedish and Finnish farmers to settle in villages, to keep a closer check on them, but they refused to budge from their homesteads.

There is no explanation for the New Sweden colonists adopting a different pattern of settlement from their European neighbors. They may have modeled their settlements on the forest communities of central Sweden, where isolated homesteads were a feature of districts in which cattle herding, hunting and fishing meant more than arable farming. Villages, after all, were needed primarily as a means of pooling labor resources for agriculture. In America they served as a means of protection from the Indians. It seems as though the people of New Sweden felt they had nothing to fear from the Indians and that they preferred the liberty of an individual homestead to the discipline of the village community.

They lived singly but not isolated. On Sundays they would meet in the church on Tinicum Island. Neighbors

helped each other on the land and they ground their corn at the Turtle Kill mill near Christina. That mill had been built and was now being run by the ex-gunner Johan Andersson Stålkofta (Stalcop) together with two other settlers.

The colonists lived on both sides of the Delaware and along its tributaries. They had achieved a certain measure of prosperity. In 1663 there were 110 good farms. The fields were not very big, but the livestock had become numerous. There were now 200 cows and oxen, 20 horses, 80 sheep and several thousand pigs.

We know that the colonists wrote to their neighbors and relatives in Sweden, urging them to come over. These first letters from America attracted new emigrants. In the summer of 1663 about 30 Swedes arrived in Delaware. Another 150 immigrants came in December, among them both Swedes and Finns.

The settlers tried to keep peace with one another and to expel troublemakers. The Finn Evert Hindrichsson was known for his quarrelsome disposition. After he had beaten up an ex-soldier called Göran Kyn Snövit ("Snow White"), the settlers had had enough. Hindrichsson was called before the court and sentenced to leave the colony. Another rough customer, Peter Meyer, who assaulted the minister, seems to have migrated to the English colony of Maryland of his own accord.

The men wore a waistcoats, trousers and shoes of leather and woolen stockings and the women wore tunics and loose gowns or kirtles of leather. They slept under bear and wolf pelts. They staunchly adhered to their language, their Lutheran faith and their old customs. There were two smiths in the colony—Jöns Andersson and Mats Matsson—who had come over from Sweden and made axes, knives and scythes in the same way as at home. All the Swedes and Finns had bathhouses which they used every Saturday, as they had been accustomed to doing. They brought home timber and logs on Swedish sleds and they baked their bread in big loaves after the manner of their native country. Christmas was celebrated with the usual games and food was prepared and schnapps distilled in the Swedish style. But before long there would be big changes in Delaware.

Under English Rule

In the autumn of 1664, during the war with the Dutch, an English squadron from New Haven, Connecticut, sailed up the Hudson River and took the colony of New Holland by surprise. A surrender was signed by Governor Peter Stuyvesant and the English Colonel Richard Nicolls in the windmill on the island of Manhattan.

Charles II made a present of the colony to his brother, the Duke of York, and it was accordingly renamed New York, becoming the Governor's residence and the center of the new colony. A map from that year shows a mere eighteen houses outside the town wall. Over the next thirty years the town doubled its area. New streets were laid out and new harbors built above the rampart. In 1700 there were about 5,000 people living in New York, comprising almost equal numbers of Dutch and English and a few Frenchmen, Swedes and Jews. There were 800 blacks, most of them slaves.

The new Governor, Richard Nicolls, gave the town a new government based on English law, but most of the old officials stayed on with new titles. Stuyvesant also elected to live in the colony under English rule, but he withdrew from public affairs. He lived on his farm in The Bowery and in his white house by the harbor until his death in 1672.

Part of the English fleet went on to the Delaware, capturing Fort Casimir after a fight. The Dutch surrendered on the 1st of October, 1664. The people on the river became English subjects and their property was guaranteed in return for an oath of allegiance to the King of England. The former deputies retained office, as did the sheriff and the other officials. The Swedes were entitled to freely practice their Lutheran religion and observances.

The new English rule meant greater legal security than before, but there was some dissatisfaction at the heavy customs duties and taxes levied from the colonists. In 1669 this discontent exploded into an attempted revolt by the Scandinavians on the Delaware, led by a man called the Tall Finn or Tall Swede and probably one Marcus Jacobsson, who had come to the colony from Maryland. He claimed to be a son of General Otto Vilhelm Königsmarck and he promised that a Swedish naval force would be coming to recapture the colony.

About 70 Swedes and Finns joined him and went into hiding. He also seems to have been supported by the frequent dissident, Reverend Lock, by Johan Stalcop and by Governor Printz' daughter, the redoubtable Madame Papegoja of Printz Hall. The rebel was denounced by the wealthy Peter Cock, one of the Swedes' officials. Cock reported him to the English, who made the Tall Finn a prisoner. He was sentenced by the Governor to a flogging, after which he was branded on the forehead and was sold into slavery on the West Indian island of Barbados. His accomplices were heavily fined.

This abortive revolt, however, was an exception to the rule and otherwise the Swedes were compliant and faithful to their English rulers. They visited their churches on Tinicum Island and in Christina. A small wooden church was built in 1667 at Crane Hook, near Christina, where thirteen Swedish and Finnish families were living. Two years later a fourth church was established in a log building at Wicaco above Schuylkill, by

the river, where many Swedes lived.

Churches proved to be easier to come by than clergy. Reverend Lock, it is true, preached alternately in four churches, but eventually he became so feeble that the parish had to find an assistant. The newcomer was a Dutchman, Jacob Fabritius, from the Lutheran Church in New York. Fabritius was always in disagreement with his wife and his parishioners, and therefore glad of the opportunity to move to Delaware.

He preached his first sermon in Wicaco on Trinity Sunday 1677. It was in Dutch, a language which all the Swedes evidently understood. Five years later Fabritius had the misfortune to go blind, but he continued to discharge his duties until his death nine years later. He lived further up the river, traveling every Sunday in a dugout canoe to Wicaco. Sometimes he continued 120 km. downriver to the church at Crane Hook. He made his way to the church by holding onto a stick held out by his escort. From this, says Israel Acrelius, we can infer that, although for a long time the parish had two priests, "there were nearly none".

The colony of New Jersey, south of New York, was established in the 1670's but initially came within the jurisdiction of the Governor of New York. Soon there would be great changes on the Delaware. In 1681 Charles II gave a large area by the river to the Quaker William Penn, who wanted to start "a holy experiment" in the form of a society based on political and religious liberty.

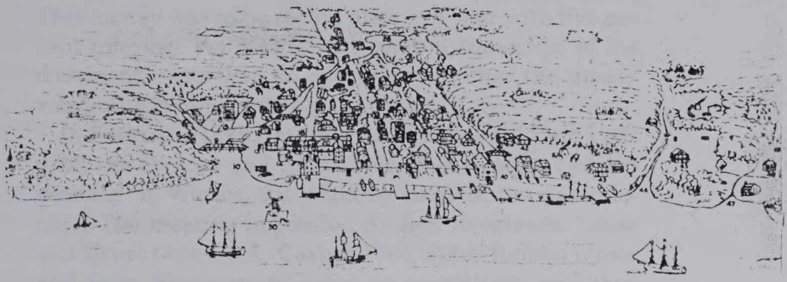
Penn sailed for his territory on the good ship Welcome in the summer of 1682, together with a large number of Quakers from England and Wales. They sailed up the Delaware and went ashore in the Swedish colony of Uppland. As usual, there had been epidemics on board, and many of the newcomers were ill, but the Swedes gave them a friendly reception, supplied them with provisions and housed them. Penn stayed on in Uppland for a while but renamed the community Chester, after his skillful physician on board the ship.

Reporting home, Penn praised the Swedish settlers. "They are", he writes, "a serious, strong and hardworking people. They have made great advances in agriculture and horticulture, they show respect to their rules and they are friendly towards us, the English. Their houses are full of children. I must admit that one seldom sees young men as sober and industrious as these."

In December 1682 Penn convened a first general assembly of colonists at Chester/Uppland. The Swedes were represented by Lasse Cock, one of the sons of Peter Cock. He became a member of the Grand Council which was to govern this area and introduce legislation in the assembly elected by the people. Those elected to the assembly included Anders Bengtsson, who had come over on the Mercurius in 1656, and Sven Svensson, both of them big landowners.

Penn established friendly relations with the Indians and bought land from them. The big colony he founded west of New Jersey and New York he called Pennsylvania. It was to be a sanctuary for all Quakers and others persecuted for their religious beliefs.

Penn decided to found his capital at the point where the Schuylkill enters the Delaware. He called it Philadelphia, which means "the city of brotherly love". He opened negotiations for land purchase with the three brothers Sven, Olof and Anders Svensson who owned a great deal of land in Wicaco, where the town was to be situated. They were sons of Sven Gunnarsson, who had come over on the Kalmar Nyckel in 1640. Sven was born in Sweden and Olof had been born on the crossing to America, while Anders first saw the light of day in New Sweden. From them Penn now purchased 360 acres of land, on which he began, in 1683, to build his town,



Philadelphia in 1702, showing the Swedish Church in Wicaco on the far left. From H.M. Lippincott, "Early Philadelphia", 1917.

consisting of five twostory stone or brick houses, straight streets and beautiful parks and gardens.

In the beginning William Penn frequently stayed with the Swede Peter Gunnarsson Rambo, who owned extensive areas of land along the Schuylkill. The many people employed in construction of the new town also included another Swede, Nils Gustafsson, who was 91 years old when Per Kalm met him in 1749. He said that he had transported a great deal of timber and beams to Philadelphia when work had begun building the town. In his childhood the site had been a big forest full of bears. His father was one of the Swedes who had been sent over to break new land. He himself was a native of the colony.

Large numbers of Quakers kept flooding into Philadelphia, which grew rapidly in size and adornment. With its fine amenities, pleasant situation, natural advantages, trade and prosperity, it was not inferior to many of the European cities, Per Kalm assures us. William Penn's colony induced people of many nationalities to leave their native countries, homes and next-of-kin to crowd together here. And Pennsylvania, which as recently as 1681 had been wilderness with barely 1,500 inhabitants, was now sufficiently populous to vie with many of the kingdoms of the old world. Delaware was made a separate colony in the early 18th century but still shared a governor with Pennsylvania.

The Quakers, or the Society of Friends as they called themselves, were a religious sect which had taken Protestantism to its full extent. As the foremost authority on matters of belief they looked, not to the Bible but to the Divine Light within each individual. Accordingly, they felt no need for dogmas, ministers or liturgy.

The Swedes and Finns on the Delaware never had any understanding for Quaker doctrine. They were on friendly terms with their neighbors and the Governor was well-disposed towards them, but they regarded themselves as a tiny enclave among the vast numbers of people with different beliefs. They joined together in their Lutheran faith and sought their identity in the church, just like the soldiers of Charles XII during their captivity in Siberia.

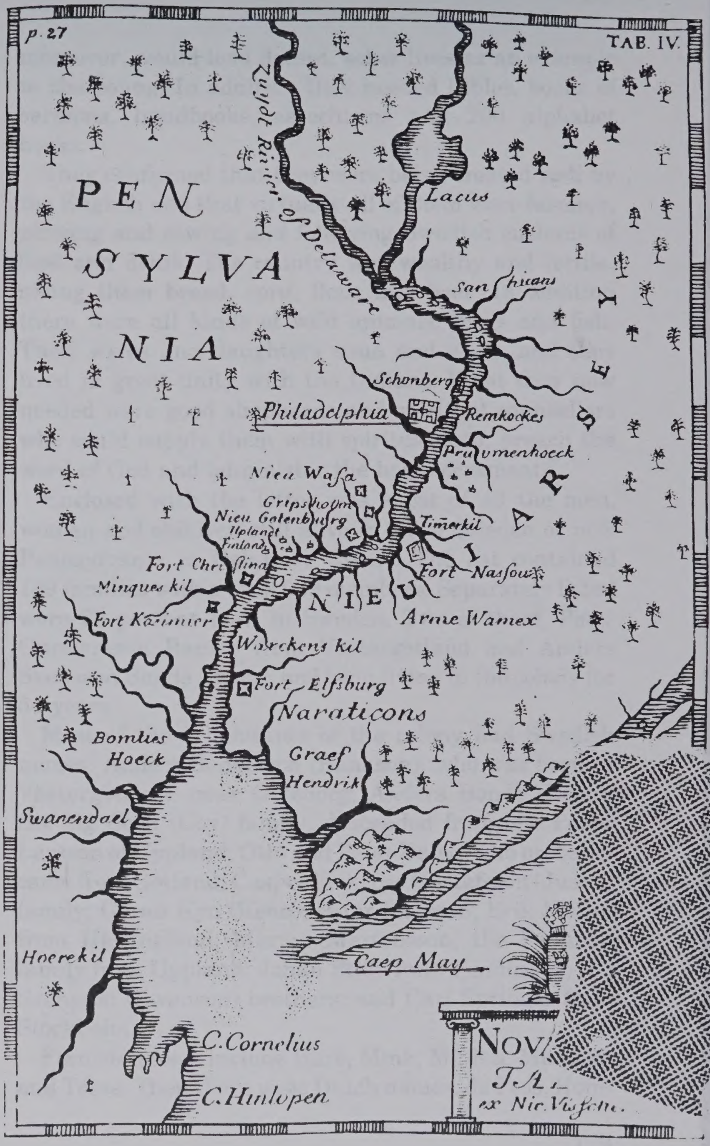
They gathered at parish meetings to discuss various church affairs. The two clergymen were paid by the parish from money collected by the church stewards. In 1684, fifty-six parishioners in Wicaco put their names or marks to a pledge whereby they were "willingly", and without contradiction or excuse, to pay the Rev. Johan Fabritius his stipend and whatever else they chose to give him towards his livelihood. Their Commissioner, the former Customs House clerk Jacob Junge from Göteborg, undertook to collect the money for the minister.

Evidently the stipend was insufficient, because a little later the same year Fabritius felt constrained to borrow

600 Dutch guilders from the church through its councillors Anders Bengtsson, Lasse and Morris Cock, Peter Dalbo, the ex-soldier Peter Nilsson and Gunnar Rambo. This money was to be repaid after one year with five per cent interest. Per Kalm, who gives a transcript of the document, says that no one knew whether the money was actually repaid or not.

In February 1689, the year after Reverend Lars Lock died, the Swedes and Finns held a new general parish meeting at Wicaco, attended by most of the parishioners. The meeting appointed Anders Bengtsson, Lasse and Ernst Otto Cock, Caspar Fisk, Peter Rambo junior and Sven Svensson to serve as councillors, and they were authorized to reach an agreement with Reverend Fabritius, on behalf of the meeting, concerning the charges to be made for the churching of women, for weddings, funerals and holy communion, "that each and everyone may comply therewith".

Otherwise, however, church life was at a low ebb among the Scandinavians on the Delaware. One church had no minister to celebrate services and administer communion. To sustain church attendance, Anders Bengtsson (Bankson) undertook to read the epistle for the day and an excerpt from a book of sermons. Carl Christophersson Springer undertook to perform the same task in the old wooden church at Cranhook. Springer, born in Stockholm, had served with the Swedish Minister in London, but while there he had been abducted onto an English merchantship bound for America. He had been sold into slavery and spent five years working on a Virginian tobacco plantation. After being emancipated he made his way to the Swedes in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Arme Wamex
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Fort Elfsburg
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Bomties Hoeck
Graef Hendrik
Swanendael
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The colony of New Sweden. Engraving in the book by Thomas Campanius Holm, published in 1702.

Delaware. He was a well-read man and became a Justice of the Peace and a church warden in the Parish of Christina.

The Swedes were in a desperate plight. Their last clergyman was blind and feeble, and they had no one to succeed him. There was no sign of life from Sweden—no letters and no news. No Swedish ships entered the river and it looked as if Sweden had completely lost interest in its former American colony.

A young Swede, Anders Printz, now came to the rescue. Arriving in Delaware on board an English ship, he claimed to be a nephew of their old Governor and was well-received by the Swedes. He came, says Pehr Kalm, as a "rare bird" to those Swedes whose only contact with their ancestral company was the old people's stories. They lamented their situation to him, explaining that they needed not only Swedish clergy but also Bibles, hymn books and other devotional literature.

Printz managed to get back to Sweden. In Stockholm he went to see the Postmaster, Johan Thelin from Göteborg, informing him of his fellow-countrymen's condition and "their great dearth of spiritual things". Thelin immediately wrote a letter on the subject to Charles XI, and after a favorable reply he wrote to the colony in America. He was able to transmit greetings to Peter Gunnarsson Rambo from his sister in Göteborg, and he asked the colonists whether they still wanted to be called honest, true and faithful Swedes.

He received an answer to this letter, dated May 31st, 1693, from "Pennsylvania, Delaware". The letter was written by Carl Springer and signed by thirty people who affirmed their devotion to the pure, true Lutheran religion. Their only minister was Jacob Fabritius, a splendid preacher but now unfortunately old and blind. They needed two ministers who could defend themselves against false teachers and alien sects and who, moreover, would lead decent, sober lives as an example to the young. In addition they needed Bibles, books of sermons, handbooks, catechisms and 200 alphabet books.

They confirmed that they were being treated well by the English and that virtually all of them were farmers, plowing and sowing and following Swedish customs of food and drink. The country was wealthy and fertile, giving them bread, corn, flour and beer. In addition there were all kinds of wild animals, birds and fish. Their wives and daughters spun and wove, and they lived in great unity with the Indians. What they now needed were good shepherds and spiritual counsellors who could supply them with spiritual food, preach the word of God and administer the holy sacraments.

Enclosed with the letter was a list of all the men, women and children still alive in "New Sweden or now Pennsylvania in Delaware River". The list contained 139 families with a total 939 members. Separately listed were 39 persons born in Sweden. Two of them, Peter Gunnarsson Rambo from Västergötland and Anders Svensson Bonde (Boon), had been living in the colony for 54 years.

Most of the inhabitants of the colony had Swedish names: Anders Bengtsson (Bankson), who was born in Västergötland, near Göteborg; Anders Bonde (Boon); the big Cock (Cox) family, descended from one Peder Larsson of Uppland; Otto and Peter Dalbo, who probably came from Gotland; Casper Fisk; the Gustafsson (Justis) family; Göran Kyn (Keen); Peter Matsson; Erik Mullin from Hälsingland; Mårten Mårtensson; the Peterson family from Uppland; Johan Stille from Penningby; the Svensson (Swanson) brothers; and Carl Springer from Stockholm.

Finnish names include Bure, Mink, Mulina, Mullicka and Tosse. Then there were Dutch names: de Foss, Hom-

man and van der Weer. Anders Wheeler, finally, had an English father and a Swedish mother.

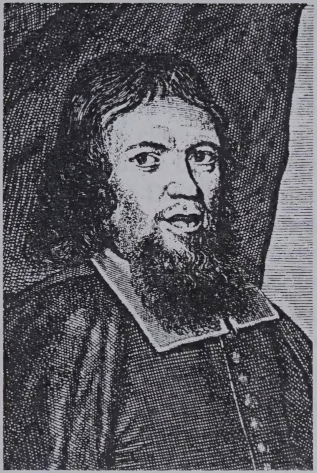
They belonged to different nationalities, but they were united by the Swedish language. "We have not had a Finnish priest, nor do we need one, for we all understand Swedish," the letter reads.

Thelin forwarded the colonists' letter to Charles XI. The King remained skeptical of the project for a long time, because the Swedes in America were under foreign rule, but his chaplain Jesper Svedberg adopted their cause and in 1696 Charles XI put him in charge of the activities of the Church of Sweden in America.

Last Links with Sweden

Jesper Svedberg is surely one of the most fascinating personalities produced by the Church of Sweden during the Great Power period. He was an inveterate individualist, an implicit believer in both God and himself, energetic and outspoken. Like his son, the spiritualist Emanuel Swedenborg, he received angelic visions and believed them to be God's way of guiding him. During an educational tour of Europe, he had been astonished at the social work done by other denominations. His experiences on this journey completely turned him against the orthodox tenet of justification by faith. Parochial work came to mean more to him than theological logic. He maintained that it was action and living that counted. Faith was to be manifested through works, not just by words.

The American mission was an undertaking in his spirit. In time he became Bishop of Skara, but he was also to style himself Bishop of America. Over a period of many years he sent a succession of zealous ministers. He was able to encourage them with the words: "One must travel abroad if one is to see and hear anything". The ministers were to be constant in the faith but still show loving kindness to other Christians, and, he instructed them, they were to work for close cooperation with the Anglican Church. They were also to do missionary work among the Indians. To help them, in 1696, he had the Indian catechism printed which Johan Campanius, forty



Jesper Svedberg, aged 50. Engraving by Johan Chr Böcklin after a drawing by H.C. Felingh c. 1705.

years earlier, had "translated into the American-Virginian lanaguage" and presented to Charles X.

Three ministers—Eric Björk, Anders Rudman and Jonas Aurén—were sent out in the summer of 1696. First they were received by Charles XI in his private apartments at the palace. He gave them money for their voyage and, as they were taking their leave, he gave them his hand with the words: "Go now in the name of the Lord to the place I have sent you. God be with you and may your work prosper." With them they had a vast quantity of Bibles, books of sermons and other devotional literature, as well as 500 copies of the hymn book which Jesper Svedberg had published in 1694. It had immediately been withdrawn due to the schemes of jealous clerics. Those hymn books now were very useful.

The ministers were accompanied by Anders Printz, who was to be their guide, but he vanished without trace after they had stopped off in London. He was probably pressed into service on board an English man-of-war, "since which time," Rudman laconically records, "he has never been heard of".

After a long stay in London they continued to Virginia and Maryland. From here a sloop took them to their fellow-countrymen in Christina. The Swedes gathered from all around, some of them traveling long distances, to welcome the new arrivals. As Rudman stated in a letter home: "Everybody rejoices in us as if they had received angels from heaven."

They decided to divide the work in such a way that Björk stayed on in Christina, "the lower parish", while Rudman and Aurén went on to Wicaco, "the upper parish", which at that time was far south of Philadelphia. Both the log churches were old and dilapidated, and the parishes were ready to finance the new churches which had to be built.

On the 28th of May, 1698, Reverend Björk laid the foundation stone of a church in Christina. It was erected in the churchyard, behind the now decayed fort, and additional land for it was donated by Johan Stålkofta (Stalcop), the church warden. Eighty or more parishioners took part in the building work, while others made financial contributions. The building work was directed by an emancipated black slave, Dick. The church was built of granite blocks and the interior measured 60 ft. long, 30 ft. wide and 20 ft. high. The roof was timbered. The box pews were made of pine. The silver communion plate was presented by the Stora Kopparbergs Bergslag (mining community) in Sweden in 1718.

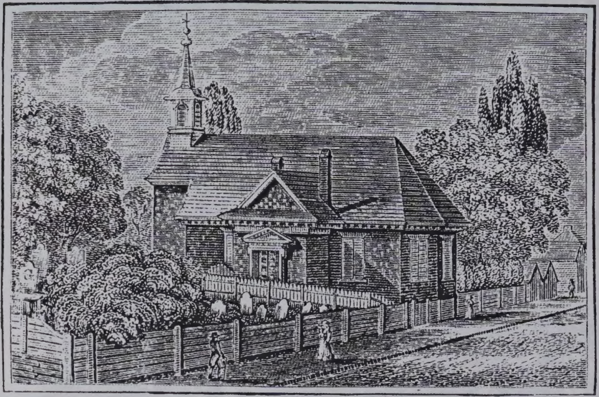
On Trinity Sunday, July 4th, 1699, Reverend Björk was able to consecrate the church in the presence of several hundred people of different religions. Afterwards most of those assembled were regaled with food and wine in Stalcop's house. "Everybody," Acrelius recalls, "was of good cheer, praising God." This Holy Trinity

Church, Wilmington, is the oldest church in the United States remaining in original condition and still regularly used for services.

The following year, on the 2nd of July, 1700, Reverend Björk consecrated a second Swedish granite church, this time in Wicaco, close by the old log church. The ground had been donated by Sven Svensson's family. It was called the Gloria Dei Church, and into it were moved the baptismal font and church bell from the church on Tinicum Island. The votive ships which now hang from the roof were given by Carl Milles. Gloria Dei Church is the oldest in the State of Pennsylvania and, under a declaration issued by the President of the United States in 1942, is protected as a national monument. It was restored recently, with financial assistance from Sweden.

Rectories were built and new churchyards laid out. The clergy sent home interesting reports on their work and their hardships when traveling to visit their remote parishioners. They were very pleased with the country and its people. The fields brought generous harvests and there was a superabundance of fruit in the gardens. The houses were built of logs in the Swedish style. The people spoke a Swedish just as pure as could be heard in the old country, though with a trace of Östergötland and Västergötland accents. Most of them were able to read books. They had faithfully preserved their old customs. "They bake bread in the Swedish way and they brew good ale, in addition to beverages they have and make from peaches and apples," Björk recorded in 1697. At that time there were roughly 1,200 Swedish-speaking people living in Delaware.

The clergy took a great deal of trouble teaching the children to read, write and count. Catechisms and alphabet books were quickly worn out, and new crates of books were sent from Sweden. At first, teaching took place in church, but before long the ministers began to employ assistants among the lay population. Reverend Andreas Sandel informs Bishop Svedberg, in a letter written in 1710, that he has hired a 60-year-old woman, born in Gävle, to serve as teacher in Wicaco. She taught the children to read the catechism and Bible. At the same time he suggested that a trained schoolmaster be sent from Sweden.



Gloria Dei Church in Wicaco, Philadelphia, as shown in J.C. Clay's "Annals of the Swedes on the Delaware" 1835.

Svedberg acceded to his request, sending a Skara scholar, Arvid Hernbom, who for some years kept a children's school in Wicaco. A son and namesake of Bishop Jesper Svedberg was "volatile and giddy by nature" in early years. He too was sent by his father to Delaware, where for some years he earned his living as a school teacher in Racoon. His school was kept in a special house built next to the church.

Meantime Johan Göding served as schoolmaster in Christina. Göding had been a merchant in Stockholm

before crossing over to Delaware. He lived for some time in wretched circumstances as a ferrymaster at Christina, but in 1717 he began working as paid schoolmaster for the parish. He held his school in the home of the church warden, Johan Gustafsson, and Göding became a church warden himself.

Reverend Björk was unwilling to neglect the mission to the Indians. "The Indians and ourselves," he affirmed, "are as one people, and we are on closer terms with them than with the English." The Indians were eager to hear the catechism read in their own language and to see it in a printed book. They had also asked Carl Springer to teach their children to read the catechism. Before long, though, he was forced to admit that missionary work among the Indians was difficult. The reason, in his opinion—and others agreed with him—was the many poor whites living on the river, who gave the Indians a low opinion of the life and doctrines of the Christians.

Eric Björk returned to Sweden in 1714 with his wife, Christina Stalcop, and five children to become minister of Falun. He carried a letter from the two parishes to Bishop Svedberg, assuring that "most gracious father" that Björk had left behind him a fine reputation for his edifying sermons and virtuous living, so that both Swedes and English had shed tears at his departure. The letter was signed by the church wardens, who included such familiar names as Peter Rambo, Johan Stille and Carl Springer.

Both Björk's colleagues remained in America to the end of their days. Jesper Svedberg continued sending out ministers and more churches were built. A third Swedish Church was built in 1704, this time on the Jersey side in Racoon, that is, the present town of Swedenboro. The many Swedes living here had a long way to go to the church in Christina. The Stockholm minister, Lars Tolstadius, built on his own initiative a simple log house in which the first services were held. One day in May three years later he drowned while trying to cross the fast-flowing river in a dugout canoe.

Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church in Wilmington, Delaware. This Swedish Church, consecrated in 1699, is the oldest still in use in the U.S.A.

The church in Racoon remained standing until 1784, when Reverend Nils Collin had a new stone building —Old Swedes' Church erected on the site of the old one.

The people on the Jersey side continued their emancipation from the Parish of Christina. When the Swedes at Penn's Neck asked for a clergyman and church of their own, Svedberg gave his consent, in view of the long, difficult road they had to travel. Abraham Lidenius became the first minister of the parish and in 1717 he consecrated a log church—the fourth Swedish Church in America—which was dedicated to St. George (the drag-

onkiller). In 1787 this church was transferred to the American Episcopal Church, the parish having become entirely English-speaking. A new, stone church was built in 1811 a short distance away from the old traditional log church.

To complete the record we must mention two more churches which have become monuments to the Swedes of Delaware. First, there is St. Jacob's or St. James's, the construction of which began in 1760 in Kingsessing, western Philadelphia. The parishioners subscribed money and put in a great deal of voluntary work in large groups. This big church was consecrated in 1763 by the Swedish minister of Wicaco, Carl Magnus Wrangel.

The second church, Christ Church, is near Bridgeport in Pennsylvania. A log cabin built here in 1733 came to be used for services of worship by the Swedes in Upper Merion. The church was built on land donated by Gunnar Rambo. It was succeeded in 1760 by a fine stone church with stained glass windows depicting episodes from the history of the Swedes in America.

We catch a final glimpse of the life of the Delaware Swedes in about 1750, when Pehr Kalm, Linnaeus' pupil, called on them during his American voyage of exploration (1748–1751) and asked them questions about their farms and their parish meetings. A contemporary of his was Israel Acrelius, the famous historian of New Sweden and minister of Christina. In 1759 he published a "Description of the former and present state of the Swedish parishes in what is called New Sweden", based partly on the parish records.

At this time there were still about 1,500 people on the Delaware River who spoke Swedish. Many of them had moved into Philadelphia. Pehr Kalm visited that city and met several Swedes. Anders Rambo lived in a fine large stone house with a big garden. And Peter Cock, one of the wealthiest merchants in town, had both a house in the city and a farm in the country.

Most of the Swedes, however, lived on as farmers in the Delaware Valley, on both sides of the river. Pehr Kalm described their surroundings as he saw them when sailing up the river. "The country on both sides of the river is lowlying, thickly wooded right down to the water's edge. Here and there along the shore we saw small, smooth fields, with the odd homestead surrounded by meadows. Herds of cattle were grazing here and there along the river banks. Great sturgeons were sometimes seen in the river. A pleasing scent of mown fields and ground vegetation wafted on the breeze from the shore."

Together with Reverend Acrelius, he visited the church of Christina. Next to it was a wretched old wooden hut which had once been built by the Swedes, at the sight of which he waxed poetical. That cabin, he wrote, had existed when the forest still grew thick. Smoke rose from its chimney when deer and beavers lived on the site of the new main square of Wilmington. The spinning wheel inside the house was clattering before there were any factories, and before the world had even heard of Philadelphia. But these things had already faded into oblivion.

At one time the Indians had filled the entire country. On their many small plantations by the river they had lived by growing corn. Now they had moved further into the forests. The gifts bestowed upon them by the Europeans—measles and schnapps—had decimated their numbers and depraved them so that they no longer resembled their forefathers who had been living here when the Swedes first arrived.

But Swedish strength on the Delaware was also falling into oblivion. Kalm, studying the parish registers drawn up by clergymen Björk and Rudman, found that until 1720 they had kept a record of all the children born

to Swedish parents. After that time they had baptized so many non-Swedish children in their parish that there was no further point in distinguishing between Swedes and non-Swedes.

Kalm observed that the young were forgetting their Swedish. This opinion was shared by Dean Acrelius, who found that the younger generation could express themselves more adequately in English than in their native language. The children were being taught English, and once every month services had to be held in this language in his church.

Acrelius was dissatisfied with his fellow-countrymen. In his opinion, luxurious, ostentatious living in the new country had weakened them. Fifty years ago the Swedes could buy land, build a church and parsonage in the course of a few years. Now they were barely capable of maintaining them and conserving what had been acquired by their forefathers. Time was when people would walk several miles to church. Nowadays everybody expected to travel on horseback. In those days many a good man sat on a piece of bearskin, but nowadays no saddle would do unless it had trappings of galloons and fringes. In those days, farmhands and serving maids would come barefoot to church. Nowadays the young aspired to dress like persons of quality. The boys wore wigs and the girls crinolines. In those days, honest people lived in log cabins. Today they were building painted houses of stone and brick in the country. “Then they drank beer and schnapps, now it is wine and punch. Then they lived on porridge and gruel, now it is tea, coffee and chocolate.”

Kalm and Acrelius both found it hard to accept the acclimatization of their fellow country men and merging with other peoples to form a new society, a great new nation. But there was no stopping the process which had now begun. Everything shows, Kalm prophesied, “that the Swedish language is rapidly dying out in America, so that in fifty or sixty years’ time there will be few who understand it and even fewer who speak it”.

When Reverend Carl Magnus Wrangel preached in Swedish at religious services in Wicaco Church during the early 1760’s, the language was understood, at most, by 20 of the older members of the congregation. But when, on Sunday afternoon, the same fiery speaker preached a sermon in English, the church was packed. This shows how quickly the great change of language had taken place.

The last Swedish clergyman to serve in the Delaware parishes was Nils Collin. He traveled here in 1770, by which time Americanization had gone so far that he was only able to hold Swedish services in Racoon, on the New Jersey side. Sermons in Christina and Wicaco were invariably preached in English.

Collin lived through the American War of Independence, in which large numbers of descendants of the Delaware Swedes took part. That war helped to make Sweden more interested in America. About sixty Swedish officers helped the colonials in the West Indies and on the American mainland. And immediately after the war, the Swedish Government concluded a treaty of friendship and commerce with the now independent North American country.

Two men connected with New Sweden stood in the forefront of the struggle for independence. One of them was John Morton, the other John Hanson. John Morton attended the Continental Congress as a delegate for Pennsylvania and was one of the signatories of the American Declaration of Independence on the 4th of July, 1776. The Wicaco parish register tells us that his great grandfather Mårten Mårtensson was born “in Finland in Sweden”.

He crossed over with the Örnen in 1654 and became a

freeman in the Uppland settlement renamed Chester by William Penn. He lived to be nearly 100, dying in 1706, and was buried in Wicaco churchyard. His wife Helena died in 1713, aged 97 according to the parish register.

Their son, Mårten Mårtensson junior, is said to have been born in Sweden and to have been 8 years old when he came to America in 1654. "Born in Sweden" could mean that his parents came from the Finnish settlements in central Sweden. He died in 1718.

John Morton was born in 1725 in Chester, in a corner-jointed log cabin seven logs high, still to be seen at Darby Creek in Prospect Park, Delaware County, Pennsylvania. The oldest parts of this log cabin were built by Mårten Mårtensson senior. The building has been beautifully restored by the Swedish Colonial Society.

In 1779, after a long political career in Maryland, John Hanson was elected a delegate to the American Congress, where in 1781 he was appointed to preside over the proceedings. He died two years later. A statue of him was erected at the Capitol, Washington, D.C. in 1903.

John Hanson's origins are wreathed in mystery. A family tradition has it that his ancestor was an Englishmen who had enlisted in the Swedish Army. He would seem by all accounts to be related to one Anders Hansson, who crossed over to New Sweden on board the Charitas in 1641. The list of passengers on that voyage also includes his brother Mats, who was made a constable at Fort Christina but later became a freeman. Anders himself began by working as a laborer for Lieutenant Måns Kling, before also becoming a freeman.

Both brothers were among the opponents of Governor Printz. Mats stayed on in the colony, but Anders and his wife Annika, with their children, moved in 1653 to Maryland. Tradition also tells us that they were accompanied by three younger brothers of Anders—Randolph, William and John. They are not included in the 1644 sailing list, but perhaps they were too young to be mentioned. John Hanson was the paternal grandfather of his famous namesake.

The last Swedish minister on the Delaware, Nils Collin, organized the building of a new church at Racoon to replace the old wooden building, which had been destroyed in the war. American clergy helped him to give services in the other parishes, and many of them became his friends. He remained in service for more than sixty years, until his death in 1831, and he was buried inside the church at Wicaco.

The people on board the Kalmar Nyckel and the Gripen had clearly shown the Swedes the path to the New World. By the time Nils Collin ended his days, the first of the forerunners of the great America emigration had already begun to follow that path across the ocean.

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In a book on New Sweden, written in 1938, Professor Nils Ahnlund remarked that hardly any aspect of the Great Power period in Swedish history had been so exhaustively depicted as the Swedish colony on the Delaware. Literature on this subject spans the centuries and is highly variegated, some works being better known than others. In 1759 the minister Israel Acrelius published a major work on the colony of New Sweden and the Swedish mission in America—"Beskrifning Om De Swenska Församlingars Forna och Närwarande Tilstånd uti Det så kallade Nya Swerige".

This work was followed on the American side by another minister, Jehu Curtis Clay, whose "Annals of the Swedes on the Delaware", 1835, is based on parish registers and other records.

During the great emigration of the 19th century, our tiny colonial adventure was almost forgotten until two historians, Clas Theodor Odhner and Carl Sprinchorn, drawing on a number of discoveries in the Swedish National Archives, were able to shed light on the fate of New Sweden through essays published in the Historiskt Bibliotek series in 1877 and 1878.

Their work has been followed by other scholars, foremost among them being the Swedish-American historian Amandus Johanson, who devoted many years of his life to studying the first Swedish settlers in America through the medium of Swedish, Finnish, Dutch and English archives. His finest work, published in Philadelphia in 1911 in two parts, is "The Swedish Settlements on the Delaware 1638–1664". Devoting such a great work to an insignificant colony which lasted for only seventeen years may seem like an exaggeration but Johnson took the view that thorough research was needed in order to identify the roots of civilization in a great nation.

A fine catalogue raisonné of earlier literature on New Sweden was presented by C. Vilh. Jacobowsky in Ymer, 1937. The New Sweden Tercentenary in 1938 was marked by a number of works, foremost being Nils Jacobsson's book "Svenska öden vid Delaware 1638–1831". This includes a useful bibliography of sources and earlier secondary works, both Swedish and American, and it deserves to be consulted. Jacobsson's bibliography can be supplemented with particulars from an outstandingly informative work by historians H. Clay Reed and Marion Björnson Reed—"A Bibliography of Delaware through 1960" (Newark 1966).

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ORIGINAL NARRATIVES
OF EARLY AMERICAN HISTORY

NARRATIVES OF EARLY PENNSYLVANIA WEST NEW JERSEY AND DELAWARE

1630—1707

EDITED BY

ALBERT COOK MYERS

New York
BARNES & NOBLE, INC.

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rix-dollars, and since we are situated nearer to the Spanish places than they are, we have therefore much better opportunity for such an advantage. We have here also, when need should demand it, a clean entrance and good ports as well as sufficient opportunity to provision the ship, year in and year out; and the booty, which God would grant, our ships could yearly bring away with the return cargo. The privateer could remain in these places as long as God would see fit to preserve it. It must be a well-fitted ship, manned with good people, and if one should be compelled to have a Holland skipper and mate, yet a Swedish captain should be in command to prevent fraud, for when skipper Adrian cruised about here for a few months with the sloop the *Grip*, it was for his own profit (as his acquaintances . . . admit and say).[1]

[*List of the Colonists.*]

List of all that people which is now in New Sweden, how they are distributed in all places and plantations, as specified below, for the year 1644.

[1]

At Fort Christina.

The officers:

Johann Paapegaia	1
The commissary Hindrich Hugenn	1
The pastor Mr. Johann Campanius[2]	1

The barber Mr. Hanns	1
The trumpeter Erich Andersonn	1
The constable Matz Hansonn	1
The blacksmith Mr. Hanns	1
The marshal-provost Johan Oluffzonn	1

The following people employed by the Company plant tobacco on the plantation at Christina:

Knut Mårthensonn	1
Perr Gunnersonn Rambo	1
Mårthenn Göttersson	1
Lars Andersonn Ulff	1
Månns Andersonn	1
Lars Kåckin	1
Svänn Gunnersonn	1
Mårthenn Glaasere	1
Joenn Torsonn	1
Oluff Torsonn	1
Anders the Carpenter	1

The following are carpenters on the island:

Claas Claasonn	1
Tommas the Carpenter	1

The following are appointed to be on the sloop continually:

The skipper Andress	1
Lars Tommesonn	1
Bengt Torsonn	1

The laborers listed below make tobacco casks and other cooper's articles:

Lauriss the Cooper	1
Lukass Personn	1

The swineherd:

Anders Minck with his son Claas Andersonn	2

The boy who herds the cattle:

Swenn Swensson	1

The miller, who is continually at the mill:

Anders Dreyer	1

---

[1] MSS. defective.

[2] Rev. John Campanius Holm. (1601–1683), a native of Stockholm, had received his theological training at the University of Upsala, and had served as chaplain to the Swedish legation of Russia, as schoolmaster at Norrtälje, near Stockholm, and as preceptor and clergyman at the orphans' home of Stockholm. He arrived in New Sweden in 1643 with Governor Printz and remained more than five years acting as minister to the colonists and as missionary to the Indians. In 1646 he consecrated a Lutheran Church on Tinicum Island, the first house of worship erected within the present limits of Pennsylvania. Having learned the Indian language, he began in this same year the translation of Luther's catechism into the idiom of the Lenni Lenape or Delaware Indians, a work which later he completed in Sweden. Upon his return in 1648 he was for a short time preacher to the Admiralty on the island of Skeppsholm in Stockholm; then in 1649 was made rector of Frösthult and Hernevi, where he continued the remainder of life. See Amandus Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, pp. 372–374, 678–679. Holm. is an abbreviation of Holmiensis, meaning, "of Stockholm."

The servant of Com. Hindrick Hugen:

Gååtfreedh Hermansonn	1

Soldiers at Christina:

Erich Tåått	1
Mårthen Hansonn	1
Lars Jacobsonn	1
	34

[II]

At Fort Elfsborg.

Officers:

Lieutenant Swänn Skuuta[1]	1
The watchmaster Gregorius van Dicke[2]	1
The gunner Johann Matzonn	1
The drummer Swänn Andersonn	1

Common soldiers:

Nicklaus Bock	1
Johann Gustaffzonn	1
Petter Meyer	1
Isack vann Eissenn	1
Constantinos Grönebergh	1
Petter Jochim	1
Anders Joensonn	1

---

[1] Sven Skute, who next to the Governor was the foremost military leader in the later history of New Sweden, is first mentioned in this report of Governor Printz in 1644 as lieutenant in command of Fort Elfsborg. In 1648 he successfully opposed the settlement of the Dutch on the Schuylkill. Returning to Sweden in 1650 he reported the condition of the colony before the Queen and Council in 1652. The next year he was engaged in enlisting soldiers and securing emigrants for another expedition to New Sweden. Receiving the commission of captain he came over with the expedition of 1654. Landing with his soldiers at the Dutch Fort Casimir, he captured the stronghold for the Swedes, its name being changed to Fort Trinity (Trefaldighets Fort). At the Dutch conquest of New Sweden in 1655 he surrendered the fort to Stuyvesant, but continued to reside on the Delaware, being mentioned by the Dutch in 1658 as holding the position under them of captain of the Swedes.

[2] Gregorius van Dyck came over in the second expedition to New Sweden, in 1640. In 1646 he accompanied Commissary Hendrick Huygen in penetrating the wilderness to the west, as far as the country of the Minquas, and inducing trade between the Indians and the Swedes.

Bengt Hindrichsonn	1
Anders Andersonn	1
Jacob Swensonn	1
Walle Looer	1
Joenn the Tailor	1
Knut Liliehöck	1
	17

[III]

At the Skyllerkill [*Plantation*].

Officers:

Lieut. Månns Klingh	1

The working-people, who plant tobacco on the plantation in the Skyllerkill:

Påfvell Jonsonn	1
Swenn Larsonn	1
Hindrich Matzonn	1
Matz Pipere	1
Ambrosius Erichsonn	1
Anders Daalbo	1
Päder Kåck	1
	8

[IV]

At the Upland [*Plantation*].

Officers:

Päder Liliehöck	1
Elias the Tobaccoplanter	1
Mickell Nilsonn the Blacksmith	1

The following laborers plant tobacco on the plantation at Upland:

Hindrich Matzonn	1
Matz Hansonn	1
Iffwer Hindersson	1
Johann Andersonn	1
Hanns Månsonn	1
Eskill Larsonn	1

Lars Biör[n]sonn	1
Bertill Eskilsonn	1
Johann Erichson	1
Jacob Spaniol	1
Cleme[n]t Jörensonn	1
	14

[V]

At Tinnakumgh

Officers:

Governor Johann Printz	1

Placed over the provisions and accounts:

Carll Johansonn	1
The secretary Knut Personn	1
The gunsmith Master Niklaus	1

The gunner, in charge of the small copper cannon on Tinnakungh:

Swenn Waass	1

The soldiers who daily follow, travel [with], and serve the governor:

Elias Gyllenngrenn	1
Hanns Lüneburger	1
Jörann Snöhuitt	1
Lars Andersonn	1
Anders Andersonn	1
Nils Anderssonn	1
Johann Andersonn	1
Månns Nilsonn	1

The laboring-people, who are appointed to cut hay for the cattle, and also in the meantime to follow the governor in the little sloop:

Anders Bonde	1
Perr Andersonn	1
Antoni Swart	1
Oloff Erichsonn	1
	17

The following have died in New Sweden in **1643, 1644.**

Officers:

Sept. 7, 1643, the preacher Mr. Regardh[1] at Kirstina	1
July 18, 1643, the corporal Carll Håckensonn at Elfzborg	1

Soldiers:

June 10, 1643, Mickell Kyrssner at Kirstina	1
July 3, 1643, Måns Larsonn at Elfzborgh	1
“ 5, 1643, Erich Hindersonn at Kirstina	1
Aug. [3], 1643, Rutkiert the German at Kirstina	1
Nov. [?], 1643, Johenn Hartman at Tennakungh	1
March 4, 1643, the following soldiers were killed by the savages between Kirstina and Elfzborgh:	
Mårthenn Bagge	1
Mårthen the Finn	1

The following laborers of the Company have died:

July 9, 1643, the freeman	Jönns Påfvelsonn at Uplandh	1
“ 10, “	Carll Marckusonn at Elfzborg	1
“ 12, “	Mårthenn Biör[n]sonn at Uplandh	1
“ 29, “	Matz Jörensonn at Kirstina	1
“ 30, “	Joen Isacksonn at Elfzborgh	1
“ 31, “ the peasant	Per Mickellsonn at Elfzborgh	1
“ 31, “ the peasant	Larss Andersonn from Ålandh at Elfzborgh	1
Aug. 13, “ [the peasant?]	Påfvel Påfvelson at Elfzborgh	1
“ 14, “	Jacob Tommesson at Kirstina	1
“ 30, “	Peder Oloffzon from Giefle at Elfzborgh	1
“ 31, “	Joen Jerpe at Elfzborgh	1
Dec. 10, “	Zachriss Andersonn at Kirstina	1
“ 11, “	Påfwell Personn at the Skylkill	1

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[1] Rev. Reorus Torkillus, the first preacher among the Swedes and the first Lutheran clergyman to serve in America. See Amandus Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, p. 697.

March 1, 1644,	the freeman called Johann the Finn was drowned at Uplanndh	1
" 7, "	an Englishman, with a Swedish wife, was murdered by the savages	2
" 4, "	Giert Elekenn, killed by the savages between Fort Kirstina and Elfzborgh	1

The following return home to Sweden:

Officers:

Christer Boije	1
The preacher Mr. Israell[1]	1
The barber Mr. Zim[2]	1

Soldiers:

Esbiörn Mårthensonn	1
Påfvell Smaal	1
Total	121

Dated, Christina, June 20, 1644.

JOHEN PRINTZ.

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[1] Rev. Israel Fluviander.

[2] Timon Stidden, barber-surgeon.

REPORT OF GOVERNOR JOHAN PRINTZ, 1647

by Penn in March, 1682. In the following month he sent over the surveyor general, Thomas Holme, who laid out Philadelphia that summer. The same month witnessed the completion and signing of the elaborate Frame of Government, the famous first constitution of Pennsylvania, to which were appended certain laws agreed upon in England.

All these activities in the furtherance of the undertaking delayed the Proprietor's visit to his new province. He was unable to depart until August, 1682. At that time the roll of First Purchasers, as kept in the London office, was closed; more than 600,000 acres of land had thus far been sold. Just before sailing Penn once more prevailed upon his old friend the Duke of York to make him another American grant, that of the Three Lower Counties of Delaware.

It was on October 28, 1682, that William Penn first stepped upon American soil. On that day amidst the joyful acclamations of the inhabitants he disembarked from the good ship *Welcome* at New Castle and received turf, twig, and water, symbols of his feudal possession of the country. After devoting several weeks to affairs at Upland (Chester), New Castle, and his rapidly rising city of Philadelphia, he journeyed to New York and paid his respects to the officials of government there. From December 4 to 7 he sat with the first legislative assembly at Chester. A series of important measures known as the Great Law, including the code of laws agreed upon in England, and embodying Penn's ideas and principles, was enacted, thus laying broadly and deeply the constitutional foundations of the Province. The boundaries between Pennsylvania and Maryland, which were long to be a bone of contention, were the subject of a conference between Penn and Lord Baltimore, in Maryland, during the latter part of December, and again at New Castle in the following May. Early in March, 1683, as one of the proprietors, Penn met for a few days with the council of East New Jersey. He then attended, in Philadelphia, the sessions of the second assembly of Pennsylvania, and at the instance of that body issued a second Frame or Constitution, which lessened the number of representatives in the council and assembly.

Penn's first residence was at Chester, but with the development of the capital town he took up his abode in a house which had been especially erected for him there; he made occasional visits, however, to Pennsbury, a country-seat he was establishing on the shores of the Delaware in Bucks County.

The movement of population to Pennsylvania under Penn was truly remarkable; in no previous period had it reached such proportions. Beginning with the spring of 1682 a steady stream of immigration had set in. More than thirty ships bringing to the province several thousand settlers arrived in the next twelve months, so that in a little while the older inhabitants of Swedish and Dutch origin were far outnumbered. A fringe of settlement, in some instances reaching several miles into the interior, notably along the tributary rivers and creeks, now extended, at the date of this *Letter*, along the Delaware from Lewes to above the Falls. The majority of the newcomers were English Quakers; but an initial wedge of Welsh settlement, which in the general advance was destined in after years to cleave the English area of population in twain, had found lodgment west of the falls of the Schuylkill.

This *Letter*, which is in Penn's characteristic, descriptive style, is very properly regarded as the most important and interesting of his series of Pennsylvania pamphlets. He had but recently returned from a general tour of his dominions and he had also been much occupied for some months in treating with the Indians for their lands. He was thus fully informed by personal observation of the events and conditions which he here so faithfully and vividly chronicles.

The original draft of the *Letter* is still preserved in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. This manu-

WRITERS IN THIS ISSUE

MICHAEL F. METCALF is associate professor of history at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis and an expert on eighteenth-century Scandinavia. He here presents the second of his ''Letters from the Delaware''; the first appeared in our January number this year.

EVERT A. LARSSON is a physician in Summit, New Jersey, and has long cultivated an active interest in colonial New Sweden on the Delaware.

ETHEL W. IJAMS of Champaign, Illinois, has a special interest in the history of the Bishop Hill community in Illinois.

REVIEWERS:

RAYMOND JARVI is associate professor of Scandinavian at North Park College, Chicago, and associate editor of the *Quarterly*; HENRY HANSON of Fairfax, Virginia, is a former foreign service officer and professor emeritus of history and political science at Northern Virginia Community College (Manassas Campus); J.R. CHRISTIANSON is professor of history at Luther College, Decorah, Iowa; ROGER MCKNIGHT is associate professor of Scandinavian at Gustavus Adolphus College, St. Peter, Minnesota.

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LETTERS FROM THE DELAWARE, II: THE REVEREND ANDREAS SANDEL, JUNE 17, 1702

Translated, edited, and introduced by
MICHAEL F. METCALF

Rev. Andreas Sandel[1] was selected in 1701 to succeed Rev. Anders Rudman as the pastor of Wicacoa Congregation, which served the members of the Church of Sweden in and around Philadelphia. Born in 1671, Sandel was trained at the University of Uppsala and ordained on July 18, 1701, shortly before his departure for America. Arriving at Philadelphia on March 18, 1702, he was installed as pastor of Wicacoa eleven days later, on Palm Sunday. Sandel remained in the New World for seventeen years, marrying Maria Persdotter from Little Mantoes Creek, New Jersey, starting a family, and earning for himself not only the admiration of his parishioners, but also the gratitude and respect of Bishop Jesper Svedberg of Skara for the keen observations of American life that he sent home to Sweden.[2] Eventually appointed provost of the Swedish congregations on the Delaware, Sandel was appointed by King Charles XII in November 1717 to be pastor of Hedemora Parish back home in Sweden. It was not until June 1719 that Rev. Sandel and his family were able to commence their journey, and he assumed his post at Hedemora later the same year.[3] Before his own death in 1746, Andreas Sandel was called to Falun in 1740 to officiate at the burial of his old colleague from the Delaware Valley, Rev. Erik Björck, the former pastor of Christina Congregation at what is today Wilmington, Delaware, and his predecessor as provost of the Swedish congregations in America.[4]

* * *

God's grace be with each of you, Amen.[5]

When I left Stockholm with a ship named the *Hedvig Sophia*, I was underway for two months between Sweden and England, from August 21 until October 17. When I arrived in London, I sought out the Swedish resident, Mr. Leijoncrona, and showed him the recommendation I had received from the royal chancery in

Stockholm.[6] On the basis of that recommendation, he soon obtained for me a passport made out on behalf of the king of England by that monarch's secretary of state, Mr. Charles Hedges. In addition to this passport, Mr. Leijoncrona also gave me his personal recommendation to Mr. William Penn, the governor of Pennsylvania.[7]

I then hastened to find a ship with which to sail to Pennsylvania. As I found one that left London on November 12, I remained in London just a little more than three weeks. The name of the ship was the *Hedvig Sophia,*[8] commanded by Captain John Sowden, a Quaker.[9] This ship, which was very large, did not sail directly to Pennsylvania, but rather to Maryland. I was obliged to sail with it because no other ship was ready to depart for Pennsylvania, and Maryland is located right next to Pennsylvania.

The ship carried miscellaneous cargo, such as cloth, shoes, and the like, but also some salt, [malt][10] and iron. There was not much cargo, however, and the ship mostly carried ballast, for it was going out to fetch tobacco. The other passengers, [two young merchants, a weaver, and] a young lady, all came from England. Altogether, we were five passengers and we each had to pay £9 sterling, which is something more than 30 *riksdaler*.[11] They reckon a Swedish *riksdaler* at no more than 57 pence or 3 *örsstycken*.[12] A pound is four crowns, and each English crown is somewhat more than a Swedish *riksdaler*.

It took me eighteen weeks, or from November 13, 1701, until March 18, 1702, to make it from England to Philadelphia. We were at sea without sight of land for eleven weeks, from December 7, when we left a small town called Cowes,[13] which lies in the English Channel and belongs to England, until the dawn of February 21, when found ourselves close to Virginia. It would be too much to describe everything about that trip, as one can easily understand the difficulties to be endured on such a great ocean, especially at the time of year we were at sea, which was the worst of winter. The worst and longest storm we endured lasted over the four days of Christmas and began just before, when we were about 300 Swedish miles[14] from any shore. For thirteen days, we were unable to carry any sails because of the high winds, rain, snow, and hail. Instead, the ship lay in the water and was heaved and tossed about by each large wave that hit it. We were driven back 50 Swedish miles.

We had old men running the ship, including the captain, the first mate, and the second mate, and they said they had not seen such a storm in years. I thought often of the comfort and quiet in which many in Sweden are able to celebrate the Christmas holidays. After the storm was over, we had a slow northwesterly wind that pushed us too far south, so that by Twelfth-Day[15] it was no longer cold, but rather very warm [for we had sailed below the 34th degree of latitude]. There was rain, thunder, and lightning, too, and this warm weather lasted until we were 100 miles from land, where we ran into very cold weather. In addition to the several kinds of large fish we frequently saw at sea, such as bottlenose, porpoises, etc., we sometimes saw large whales, which spouted water high into the air when they came to the surface. When we arrived in Virginia, we cast anchor at a place called Pautuxent,[16] where the ship was to be cleared for customs and the like. This was in a bay that runs far up into the country through Virginia and Maryland. It is [many] hundred Swedish miles long, but becomes more and more narrow. It is called Chesapeake Bay,[17] and at its mouth[18] it is about six to seven Swedish miles wide, running to the northwest.

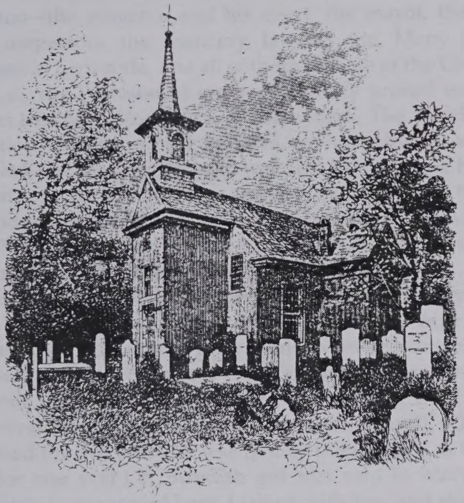
We then sailed up this bay through Virginia to a place in Maryland called Herring Bay[19] on March 1, where the ship remained and I left it. This Herring Bay is a place where Englishmen live here and there by themselves and plant tobacco, but nothing else. So they do not take the time to sow grains, except for a little wheat and maize. They drink water, and most of them live a very hard life. Those who are a bit finer and wealthier buy grain and malt from Pennsylvania. Tobacco is for them as cabbage is for us in Sweden. It is not expensive there, costing 3 *öre kopparmynt*[20] per *skålpund*,[21] but it costs more before its gets to England.[22] First of all, it is forbidden to send over small quantities (even if one had a way to do so), and, if one sends a hogshead, the freight to London alone costs almost 200 *daler kopparmynt* reckoned in Swedish coin once the king of England takes 18 *öre kopparmynt* per *skålpund* in customs duties.

From Herring Bay, I took a sloop to a little town in Maryland called Annapolis, in which resides the governor of Maryland. We came up to Bohemia on March 10 and were hosted there by an Englishman whose Swedish wife spoke pure Swedish, but whose children he taught English. From thence I had to go overland, but I had my things taken by cart over the land between this bay, which is called Delaware River and leads to Pennsylvania, which land at its narrowest is no more than a Swedish mile. From thence there are

always boats for goods destined to Philadelphia. But I myself rode overland to Christina, where the first Swedish congregation is located and where I met Mag. Björck,[23] who is the pastor of that congregation.

On March 12, I left Mag. Björck and arrived on March 18 at the other congregation at Wicacoa, where Mag. Rudman was pastor. Once my passport and recommendations had been read for the entire congregation, I was installed in Mag. Rudman's place the following Palm Sunday.[24]

When I first arrived here, I took my board and room for three weeks in the city of Philadelphia at the home of a medical doctor by the name of Dr. Sober.[25] This I did in order to acquaint myself with the English, but also because of the great amount of work I had in connection with the many upcoming holidays over the Easter season. Three English ministers also took their board and room there, and we paid 12 *daler* a week for everything. Later I moved to the parsonage at Passyunk,[26] which lies three-quarters of a Swedish mile from the church, and I take my meals at the home of a Swedish widow, Maria Rambo, for which I give her 5 *daler kopparmynt* a week.



Gloria Dei ("Old Swedes") Church, Wicacoa (Philadelphia). (from C. A. Swensson, I Sverige Stockholm, 1891.)

The parsonage is at a very pretty place high on the bank of a river in which the floodtide rises a fathom. Surrounding the parsonage are oak trees, palm trees[?, *Ed.*], walnut trees, and so on. I will not write a great deal regarding our church right now, since Mag. Rudman has already described it in great detail in a description I remember seeing in Sweden. It is a fine church with six windows; the walls are of brick, the pews of cedar, and the pulpit is of walnut. It will cost 20,000 *daler kopparmynt* reckoned in Swedish coin. This summer we plan to add a sacristy and a vestibule.

As for the government of this country, it is—praise be to God!—very good and very calm. The people here know next to nothing about taxes, and there are no soldiers, sailors, or the like. Governor William Penn has now left for London, but either he or someone in his place is expected to return. There are many religions here, among which the best and closest to ours is that of the Protestants, who are otherwise called "churchmen" or members of the Church of England. The finest people in England, such as the king himself, are of this religion. There is almost no difference between them and us; they came from the Calvinists, of course, but now they are parting company with them altogether. In communion, it appears that they hold to Calvin in their books, but they are somewhat milder in their discourse. They think highly of us Swedish ministers and pay us more respect and honor than you could ever imagine. It was these ministers who boarded with Dr. Sober, who spend a good deal of time with us, and who often turned to Mag. Rudman to preach in their church in English. They are very civil, and it is the greatest pleasure to pass the time with them.

The next are the Presbyterians, who do not differ very much from the Church of England, although they do differ in that they have no written prayer books. They make up their own prayers, believing that one cannot pray with contemplation when one reads prayers out of a book. Nor do they have any ranks among their clergy, such as archbishop, etc. Then there are the Anabaptists, whose errors are well known. There are Quakers here, and their numbers exceed those of all the other religions. They are very crude in their writings, and the Protestants have taken all of the mistakes they

have found in the Quakers' books, have printed them up on posters, and have on occasion posted them here in the marketplace in the town. But they admit to nothing. They do not use the sacrament of the altar; they never sing; they never pray at home, in church, at the table, or elsewhere. When it comes to their general behavior, they never take off their hats when they greet people.

There are also Apostolicals living at Lappadiis,[27] which is in the vicinity of Bohemia, where I landed. Following the example of the apostles, they share everything they own in common. They observe neither Sundays nor holidays, but [go to church each day before going to work. But] they are few in number. There are also Sabbatarians, who observe Saturdays as Sundays, and who cause a great deal of anger. It is with great chagrin that, on my way to church on Sunday morning, I have seen them go about with plows in their hands, etc. There are also many others, but time does not allow me to elaborate.

Philadelphia is a very pretty town that is not yet twenty years old. Yet, there are 500 large houses built out of stone. There are many fine people, too—the governor and his court, the mayor, the city councilmen, inspectors, the chancery, lawyers, etc. Many [rich] merchants dress in high style, and all of them that are of the Church of England (i.e., the Protestants) are very friendly toward us and mourn the fact that Mag. Rudman is to leave them. The Swedes in my congregation number ninety families, or households, and—praise be to God—most all of them are well. For this is a very fertile land for wheat, rye, barley, and oats, and they sell this grain to the English at good prices. One of ours, too, is a councilman and sits on the court at Philadelphia. They used to be taken as captains, but now that there is no militia here, they cultivate their fields, keep themselves nicely dressed, live a sober life, and work diligently.

Everything is very expensive here. Perhaps the most expensive thing is servants, for one cannot get a manservant responsible for paying his own expenses[28] for less than 300 *daler kopparmynt* per year. Thus, not many hire manservants, but instead they have indentured servants[29] (most of whom come from England). [One of these can be had for five years for less money than it costs to hire a manservant for one year.] A Swedish girl was sold in Maryland three weeks prior to my arrival here. I talked with her, and she told me she had been born in Stockholm, but had gone with a lady to Germany. The lady had died there, and this girl had then gone to France and later on to England, where she had served for two years before being turned out on the street. She was persuaded by false promises to come to this country, and when she arrived in Maryland she was sold for a period of five years. I gave her one of the Swedish hymnals and a cathechism, and she begged me to persuade a Swede to buy her from the man to whom she had been sold, declaring that she would serve him for six years. I believe that Mag. Björck will buy her, since he plans to marry a Swedish woman in September and to set up housekeeping.

They buy and use Moors [i.e., Negroes, *Ed.*], of whom there are a great many. They are very expensive, but are sold permanently for as long as they live. When someone wishes to sell slaves after having had them for some years, he gets his money back. But it is a great problem for a master's responsibility before God if he does not have his slaves baptized as Christians, for, according to the English law, a slave is freed from his slavery seven years after his conversion. They do not treat these slaves any worse than they treat other servants, although some masters may be more hard. I know that a Swede in my congregation paid 1000 *daler kopparmynt* for a Moor last spring. Two Swedish scriveners have been sold in Maryland. Otherwise, there are fine and upstanding Swedes in this country, such as one by the name of Baner, Councilor Golding's brother, a young merchant, and one by the name of Linmeijer.[30]

As for the money in this country, it is weighed more than it is counted, and it is Spanish money[31]: 1) a farthing[32] is the same as a Swedish *halvöre;* 2) a pence equals a silver *runstycke*[33]; 3) a half-bit[34] equals a 15 *öre* piece[35]; 4) a whole bit equals ten silver *runstycken;* 5) a shilling equals 12 silver *runstycken;* 6) one piece of eight[36] is of different weights, some 6 shillings and others 6 1/2 shillings; 7) a pound equals 20 shillings. From this you can see that they do not count in *mark, daler*, etc., but rather in pence, bits, shillings, and pounds.

When it comes to the weather, the food, and the drink, I cannot find any difference in food and drink from what we have in Sweden. But they make many good drinks from apples, which they call cider, and then flipp, punch, etc., which they make from small beer or water, brandy, and sugar. It is relatively warm here now, but I can remember several times when it was this warm in Sweden. I have not had much fish, although there is a lot of fish here, such as herring, but it is as large as Swedish bream. There are perch, but of

three kinds, one which is not red, for which reason they call the red one Swedish perch. There are no Baltic herring or salmon. As for birds, there are no larks, but most of the others are to be found.

As for the heathens [i.e., Indians, *Ed.*], there are different kinds. Those in Pennsylvania are different from those in Maryland, etc., and they have different languages, so that they cannot understand one another. One can say that those in Pennsylvania have almost no authorities among them. They do have a man called a sacheman [sachem, *Ed.*], or king, but they do not normally honor him more than others. When they have been drinking, they no more hesitate to strike him than they do to strike anyone else. But when there is a dispute between them and other heathens, the king is to lead them, etc. The sacheman died the other day, and I saw his queen, who had blackened her eyes with soot and other things in order to mourn her husband. She was dressed just as the others, and she was not honored.

There are no differences, for nobody is high and nobody low. Their religion is nearly non-existent. I am told that they make sacrifices and pray to the devil, since he can do them evil, but that they do not pray to the One who is good, since they say He never does them wrong. They wear only a rectangular, red or blue cloth, which they toss over their bodies. They hide their most private parts, but otherwise they are naked. They grease their bodies all over with something greasy, such as bear fat, from which they become brown. And, when they wish to adorn themselves for visits to town, they paint broad red lines on their faces and consider themselves to look very good this way. They have wives, but when a man no longer loves his wife he abandons her and takes a different one. They bind their children with two planks, which they put together on their backs, and thus all heathens have very straight and beautiful bodies.

It is a wonder how these heathens survive in the winter, for it is so very cold here and they are naked. When the children are small, their mothers take them each morning to where there is water and ice, washing them in the cold water in order to harden them. Thus, they are very tough people and eat all sorts of rough food. They do not have horses, cows, goats, etc., but only pigs. Instead, they live by their fishing. In winter, the men go hunting in the forest for five or six months at a time, after which they come home in the spring and sell pelts to the Christians. The men pay no attention to the fields, and on the whole they do not like to use them much, as long as they are able to plant a bit of maize. This virgin forest is very large, so that these heathens have said that they have often run westward for three to four months without finding any sea. A heathen runs very hard in the forest. It is said he can tire out a horse a day, being more able to run the whole day without stopping. They can easily find their way, wherever they are. Even if they were to leave something in the forest several hundred miles away, they would be able to find it the next year. As a small boy, a Swede was out picking berries in the forest and was taken by a heathen. He now lives among the wild heathens and does not wish to return. One cannot convince a heathen to serve a Christian. They are much more calm toward us than they are toward the English.

When a Swede comes here, and the heathens learn of it, they come and take him by the hand and are, on the whole, very loyal toward the Swedes. If a heathen knew a Swede to be in some danger, he would run 100 miles to let him know it. Otherwise, they are very grim, indeed, when one tribe[37] fights against another. They no longer have real wars, as they once did, but rather yell at and insult one other, and when they have captured a prisoner they have usually burned him alive with a hot iron after having bitten off his nails. But the Swedes say they have not heard of the like. Just before the Christians arrived here, they had among themselves old and great wars, fighting solely over hunting grounds, since they have no clear boundaries to distinguish one tribe from another. They found many thousands of bodies after that battle, and without a doubt it was God's special Providence to exterminate them in that manner. That same Providence has also shown itself in the fact that, since the Christians arrived, the heathens have been mowed down by illness as if by a scythe, and thus exterminated. These heathens have no houses built of wood, but merely of bark. Their money consists of small, round, red and brown stones, which they put on a band. What I have written here about the heathens is only valid for those who live in Pennsylvania. Those who live in Maryland, New France, Virginia, etc., are said to have better order in their government and elsewise.

That, in brief, is something written in haste about a few things. For the opportunity by which I send this letter is soon departing, and my own duties are piling up. I am sure I have forgotten something I could have written, but if there is anything anyone

wants to know, he can let me know and I will see to it that I please him. I had planned to write all of this to all of my relatives, friends, and benefactors, but neither time nor appointments allow me to do so. Thus, I request that my brother-in-law let this circulate to Löfstad, Hollnäs, Westland, Torstuna, Biskops Kulla, Tuna, etc. And thereafter that the merchant Hierpe in Stockholm gets it, and that it be sent to *Befallningsmannen* Collin on Öland.[38]

All of you who read this letter, be greeted in the heartiest manner. I have no higher wish than that this letter find you all in good health. I pray to God, who has given me such a happy journey and such good health, both on the trip and since I arrived here. I commend all who read this letter to the most gracious protection of the Lord God.

And I remain your most ready and faithful servant,

Andreas Sandel

Passyunk Parsonage
in Wicacoa Congregation
in Pennsylvania
June 17, 1702

P.S. Anyone who would do me the favor of letting me know of my family's condition may write to Postmaster Jean Thelin at Gothenburg. Then it will travel quickly. Should anyone wish to know my English address, it is to be written thus: These for The Reverend Mr. And: Sandel, Swedish Minister in Pennsylvania, London, Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, and Passyunk.

NOTES

This letter, the letter from the Rev. Erik Björck in this year's first issue of the *Swedish-American Historical Quarterly*, and incomplete and anonymous translations of the two letters were brought to the attention of the editor of the *Quarterly*, Prof. H. Arnold Barton, by Prof. Leif Sjöberg of the State University of New York at Stony Brook. Prof. Barton asked that I edit the translations and provide introductions to the letters, but upon reading these letters I found it necessary to provide completely new translations. Two major problems in the translation led me to request a copy of Sandel's manuscript diary, which is housed in Västerås Stiftsbibliotek. My inquiry was forwarded to the Rev. Frank Blomfelt, who, unbeknownst to me, had just published Sandel's diary. Rev. Blomfelt notified me of the existence of another extant copy of Sandel's letter of June 17, 1702. My thanks to him and to Dr. Lars Otto Berg, Chief Archivist at Landsarkivet in Uppsala, who sent me a photostat of this second copy in record time. Neither the letter provided by Prof. Sjöberg nor that referred to me by Rev. Blomfelt and provided by Dr. Berg appears to be the original, although the latter is more complete than the former. Both are in early eighteenth-century handwriting, the former is to be found Riksarkivet (RA, the Swedish National Archives), Handel och Sjöfart, vol. 197, Nya Sverige III, and the latter in Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek (UUB, Uppsala University Library), K20.

[1] For another account of Sandel's first months in America, see Frank Blomfelt, ed., *Andreas Sandels dagbok 1701-1743* (Uppsala: Erene Bok & Musik AB, 1988).

[2] For Svedberg's appreciation of Sandel, see Nils Jacobsson, *Svenska öden vid Delaware 1638-1831* (Stockholm: Svenska kyrkans diakonistyrelses bokförlag, 1938), 188.

[3] For Sandel's years in America, see Israel Acrelius, *A History of New Sweden; or, the Settlements on the River Delaware*, translated from the Swedish and with an introduction and notes by William M. Reynolds (Philadelphia: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1874), 215-23. See, too, Blomfelt, 9-12.

[4] Jacobsson, 235.

[5] It is unclear to whom this letter is addressed. Sandel himself notes that he sent his first letters to Sweden on this date. "1) To the Consistory at Uppsala about the condition of the parish here, etc.; 2) a letter about my trip and about this country, a circular letter which was to go around to everyone; and 3) a letter to my brother-in-law, Magister Nybom, to G.N. and to Olof B. Jerpe"; see Blomfelt, 45. For a garbled English translation, see "Extracts from the Journal of Andreas Sandel, Pastor of 'Gloria Dei' Swedish Lutheran Church, Philadelphia, 1702-1719," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 30 (1906), 289. Given the nature of the letter, and Sandel's expressed hope that "my brother-in-law let this circulate," it is probably the second letter he notes.

[6] As the official Swedish representative to the English government, Christopher Leijoncrona held the title "resident" from 1698 until 1703, and the title of "envoy extraordinary" thereafter.

[7] The copy of Sandel's letter in RA, Handel och Sjöfart, vol. 197, Nya Sverige III, is garbled here, referring to Penn as "Her Villjam Gener-Gouverneur öfwer denna Pensylvania" (p. 1). The copy in UUB, K20, reads: "Hr. William Penn, Gouverneur öfwer denna Pensylvania" (fol. 1).

[8] As the name of the ship Sandel took from Sweden to London was the *Hedvig Sophia* (see above), this is an obvious mistake. Sandel himself clears up the problem, noting in his diary that the ship he took to Maryland was the *Josiah*. See Blomfelt, 22.

[9] In his edition of Sandel's diary, Blomfelt transcribes this name as "Lowden" (Blomfelt, 22), although the frontispiece of his volume (which pictures the relevant page of Sandel's diary) shows the name as "John Sowdon" and the two copies of Sandel's letter of June 17, 1702, show the name as "John Sowden."

[10] Text appearing within brackets [ ] is found in the copy in UUB, K20, but not in the copy in RA, Handel och Sjöfart, vol. 197, Nya Sverige III. The latter copy thus appears to be less reliable than the former.

[11] Sweden had silver and copper coins in the early eighteenth century; 1 *riksdaler* 2 *daler silvermynt* 6 *daler kopparmynt* and 1 *daler silvermynt* 4 *mark* 32 *öre silvermynt*.

[12] The reference to *örsstycken* is unclear; as 57 pence divided by 3 equals 19 pence, it might conceivably refer to the shilling (20 pence), but then one would have expected 60, rather than 57 pence.

[13] The town of Cowes is on the northern shore of the Isle of Wight; Blomfelt, 105, note 23. Sandel wrote "Chous" in his diary and this is the spelling found in the copy of his letter in UUB, K20. The copy of his letter in RA, Handel och Sjöfart, vol. 197, Nya Sverige III, is incorrect in its use of the name "Phous."

[14] One Swedish mile = 6.7 English miles.

[15] The feast of the Epiphany; the traditional end of the Christmas season on January 6.

[16] Sandel's spelling was “Putuxen.”

[17] Sandel wrote that the name of the bay was “Kejen pigg,” but it is clear from the context that the bay he is referring to is the “Chesapeake.”

[18] The two copies of the letter use the terms “största inloppet” and “första inloppet,” respectively. The term “mouth” is the best translation.

[19] The two copies of Sandel's letter use “Hären bä” and “häränbä,” respectively, but the editor of the English translation of his diary notes that Sandel reached “Herring Bay, Calvert County, Maryland, in late February 1702”; see “Extracts from the Journal of Andreas Sandel,” 287. See, too, Blomfelt, 41.

[20] Literally, “marks in copper mint”; cf. note 11.

[21] A *skålpund* weighed about 425 grams.

[22] Here I have followed the copy in UUB,K20, which reads “innan man kan få det til Engeland” (fol. 3); the other extant copy in RA, Handel och Sjöfart, vol. 197, Nya Sverige III, reads, “innan man får det ifrån England,” which does not make sense.

[23] “Mag.” is an abbreviation for the title “Magister,” which was used by university-trained clergymen.

[24] Palm Sunday fell on March 21, 1702; see “Extracts from the Journal,” 287. Sandel makes no mention of the fact that one Lars Tollstadius, who had sought appointment in Sweden as Rudman's successor, had beaten him to Philadelphia and had convinced Rudman that he had been appointed to succeed him. This ruse was revealed upon Sandel's arrival, and Tollstadius went on to cause trouble elsewhere in the Swedish congregations. See Acrelius, 212-13, and *The Records of Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church, Wilmington, Del., from 1697 to 1773*, trans. by Horace Burr [Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware, 9] (Wilmington: Historical Society of Delaware, 1890), 88-110.

[25] Dr. Sober is referred to as “Dr. Hober” by the translator of Sandel's diary; see “Extracts from the Journal of Andreas Sandel,” 289. Cf. Blomfelt, 108 note 50.

[26] Sandel uses the spelling “Passajung.”

[27] This group is referred to in Swedish as the “Labbadister” in view of the area in which they lived; see Blomfelt, 106, note 41.

[28] Sandel uses the phrase “en dräng...tå han skall hålla sig kläder sielf,” or, literally, “a man...when he is to keep himself in clothes.”

[29] Sandel did not use the term “indentured servants,” but rather referred to “Köpeslafwar och Trälar, som de här kalla Servingar,” which clearly describes indentured servants.

[30] No attempt has been made to identify these individuals.

[31] The remainder of this paragraph is taken from the copy of Sandel's letter in UUB, K20, since the copy of the letter in RA, Handel och Sjöfart, vol. 197, Nya Sverige III, is very garbled in this paragraph. A careful investigation of the latter text including very helpful consultations with Prof. John J. McCusker of the University of, Maryland and Dr. Lars O. Lagerqvist, Director of Kungl. Myntkabinettet in Stockholm, revealed that it could not be accurate. The copy in UUB, K20, on the other hand, reflects contemporary monetary realities in Pennsylvania.

[32] The term in the copies of the Sandel letter are “färding” and “fierding,” respectively. It seems that Sandel was inaccurate here, since one farthing 1/4 “pence,” whereas one *halföre* (*kopparmynt*) 1/6 *öre silvermynt*, while he equates the “pence” and the M*öre silvermynt*. On the other hand, the value of the *halvöre* approximated that of the farthing more closely than did any other Swedish coin. I am grateful to Dr. Lars O. Lagerqvist for his guidance in the finer points of usage concerning early eighteenth-century Swedish coinage.

[33] A silver *runstycke* was a one-*öre silvermynt* coin.

[34] The terms “half-bit,” “bit,” and “piece of eight” derive from the Spanish coin called the “piece of eight,” which consisted of eight “reals,” or “bits.” Hence, our contemporary colloquial expression for a quarter of a dollar, “two bits.”

[35] A 15 *öre* piece (“et 15 örsstycke”), according to Dr. Lagerqvist (letter to Michael F. Metcalf, February 12, 1988), must mean 15 *öre kopparmynt* and thus 5 *öre silvermynt*. This makes sense in view of the relationship stated in Sandel's letter between the “half-bit” and the “whole bit.”

[36] The copy in RA, Handel och Sjöfart, vol. 197, Nya Sverige III, was illegible when it came to the words “one piece of eight,” while the copy in UUB, K20, reads, literally, “on pice of aet” (fol. 6v).

[37] Sandel uses the term *landskap*, or self-designated provinces; he is obviously referring to tribes.

[38] The term *befallningsman* refers to a royal official, in this case probably a district judge.

WRITERS IN THIS ISSUE

Evert A. Larsson was born in Lidköping, emigrated to the United States in 1924, and is a physician in Summit, New Jersey.

John Lindquist, christened Per Johan, was born in 1862 in Flugeby Parish, Jönköpings *län* (Småland), emigrated in 1871 with his family, and from 1872 lived near Verona, Missouri, where he was a farmer. His account, given here, was written in the 1920s. He died in 1945.

Helena Johanna Johannesdotter Lindquist, nee Dolk, was born in Korsberga Parish, Jönköpings *län* in 1823, came to America in 1871, and one year later settled near Verona, Missouri, where she died in 1898. Among her children was John Lindquist, author of the preceding article. Her reminiscences were only recently discovered and have been translated by Lillie Mae Cameron.

Carl V. Hallberg is a graduate student in historic preservation and archives management at Colorado State University in Fort Collins.

Henry Hanson of Fairfax, Virginia, is associate professor of history and social science at Northern Virginia Community College (Manassas Campus), following a career in the U. S. Foreign Service.

REVIEWERS:

Alan H. Winquist is a member of the history department at Taylor University, Upland, Indiana; Franklin D. Scott, professor emeritus of history at Northwestern University, is curator of the Nordic Collections of the Honnold Library, Claremont, California; Rochelle Wright is associate professor of Swedish at the University of Illinois-Urbana.

PASTOR ERIC BIÖRCK AND THE REVIVAL OF SWEDISH RELIGIOUS LIFE IN THE DELAWARE VALLEY

Evert A. Larsson

Those who founded and lived in the colony of New Sweden on the Delaware River from 1638 to 1655 were, in the spirit of the age, strongly devoted to the church and matters of religion. Their Lutheran faith was firm and steadfast; neither domestic nor civic affairs would function properly without the spiritual guidance of the minister, a figure of authority in the conflict between God and corrupt human nature. Piety and worship intrinsically belonged to everyday existence.

Reorus Torkillus was the first Lutheran minister to serve the Swedish congregation at Fort Christina (Wilmington). During the next fifteen years several other clergymen also came from Sweden. Among them were Johan Campanius Holm, Israel Holg Fluviander, Mathias Nertunius, Peter Hjort, and Lars Lokenius. These missionaries either died in the colony or returned to Sweden. The one exception was Lars Lokenius who eventually found himself the only spiritual leader among the Swedes. Upon him fell the task of maintaining the many small and widespread congregations along the river. He toiled incessantly, but his controversial and quarrelsome personality caused him both marital and legal problems that endured unabated until the infirmities of old age put a damper on his extraprofessional activities and kindled his spiritual revival and interest in unworldly matters. The time came, however, when he no longer was able to perform his duties.

In the 1670s another clergyman, Jacob Fabritius—possibly a native of Germany—came to the Swedes from New Amsterdam (New York) where he had been preaching to Dutch congregations. Fabritius served not only the Swedish church in Wicacoa (Philadelphia) but also other Swedish parishes, giving his sermons in their own language—perhaps with some difficulty. During his last nine years, he gradually lost his eyesight. He walked to the remote settlements with the help of a guide and a stick that they both held.[1]

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The Swedes now had two ministers, one handicapped by the infirmities of old age and the other blind. The religious situation seemed bleak indeed and became desperate after both "fell asleep in the Lord," Lokenius in 1688 and Fabritius in 1691. No other Swedish clergyman was available, no ships arrived from Sweden, and the people were left without the care and services of an ordained pastor. They repeatedly petitioned the ecclesiastical authorities in Sweden for help and several times appealed to the Swedish Embassy in London. They even sent pleas to the church in Holland asking its help in influencing the church in Sweden on their behalf. No reply to their requests and prayers ever came, and they grew certain that Sweden had abandoned them. They felt spiritually lost in the wilderness of America.

During these hard times, two members served as layreaders in the churches on Tinicum (originally Tenackong) Island and in Cranehook (Wilmington). One of them, Charles Springer, belonged to a prominent family in Stockholm. In his youth he had once visited London, where he was seized by a press gang and sold as a servant to a Virginia tobacco plantation. There he heard about the Swedes on the Delaware. Upon release after five years of labor, he made his way to his colonial countrymen in Christina where he now established his home. The other layreader was Anders Bengtson who took his texts from Moller's *Postilla*. Such minimal arrangements were nowise effective. The young people were fonder of racing than of attending divine services, and the reverence formerly shown had diminished considerably. Even if the settlers' prayers, petitions, and hopes to secure a minister bore no results, a previously unexpected solution to the problem now came their way.

Anders Printz, a nephew of Johan Printz, former governor of New Sweden, visited the Delaware Swedes in 1691. On his return he described the settlers as comfortable and thriving in worldly respects but wretched and impoverished in spiritual matters—a contrast that had made a deep impression on him. This report was taken to heart by Johan Thelin, postmaster of Gothenburg, whom Printz met on his return to Sweden and to whom he gave a detailed account of their countrymen in America with emphasis on the decline in spiritual interests and lack of Swedish clergymen.[2]

A resolute man who evidently had connections and influence with the powers that be, Thelin decided that the neglected settlers in distant America would not be ignored any longer. In a letter to King Charles XI, he proposed that these descendants of subjects of his realm be assisted as soon as possible. This led to far-reaching consequences on both sides of the Atlantic; indeed, without the intervention of Anders Printz and Johan Thelin in the 1690s, New Sweden would probably have become simply a dim memory of an unsuccessful attempt at colonization without enduring historical value or lasting monuments.

As soon as Thelin was certain of royal assistance, he went to work in earnest. In 1693 he wrote to the American Swedes advising them not to give up hope, that help was forthcoming. Since he was both a cautious and eager person, he sent two letters with similar contents. At least one of the letters was delivered to the settlers six months later, and their joy was great. The English governor of Pennsylvania wrote to William Penn, who then was living in England, and to the Swedish Embassy in London concerning this proposed solution to a matter of vital importance. This certainly demonstrates the advisability, if not the necessity, of having connections with the powers that be, the higher the better.

The American Swedes in turn posted a letter in which they expressed not only their gratitude to Thelin but also determination to preserve their Lutheran faith. They asked that two ordained ministers be sent to them along with twelve Bibles, three books of sermons, forty-two hymnbooks, 200 catechisms and prayer books, all to be paid for on delivery. They also promised to buy land and build houses for the prospective clergymen. Finally, they let it be known that the Swedes in the colonies were living in accordance with Swedish customs and traditions:

> We are almost universally farmers, who plow and sow and practice agriculture, and live according to the laudable old Swedish customs in meat and drink. This country is also a very rich and fertile land in all kinds of grain, so that, God be praised, it bears richly and abundantly whatever we sow and plant in it, so that we have plentifully our support in meat and drink. . . . Our wives and daughters also busy themselves much in spinning both wool and flax, many also with weaving, so that we have great reason to thank Almighty God for the support of our daily life. God grant that we may also obtain faithful Pastors and watchmen for our souls, who may also feed us with that spiritual food, which is

> the preaching of God's word, and the administration of the Holy Sacraments in their proper form.[3]

Charles Springer had written this part of the letter. Attached to it was a list of the names of 1,000 Swedes living in the colonies. The letter was signed by thirty persons. In 1694 Thelin received it and forwarded it immediately to Charles XI.

Upon receipt of the letter the king made plans for the preservation of "our holy religion" among the Swedish colonists. He directed the Archbishop in Uppsala to send two learned pastors to America and all of the books that had been requested—at no cost. Three clergymen, Anders Rudman, Jonas Aurén, and Eric Biörck, were chosen to make the perilous journey to America. The ministers appeared before the king, and at the end of the audience he grasped their hands and bade them go in God's name. If any mishap should occur, they were to return to their native land where he would not forget their trials and daring.[4] A sum of 3,000 *daler* was granted for the journey.

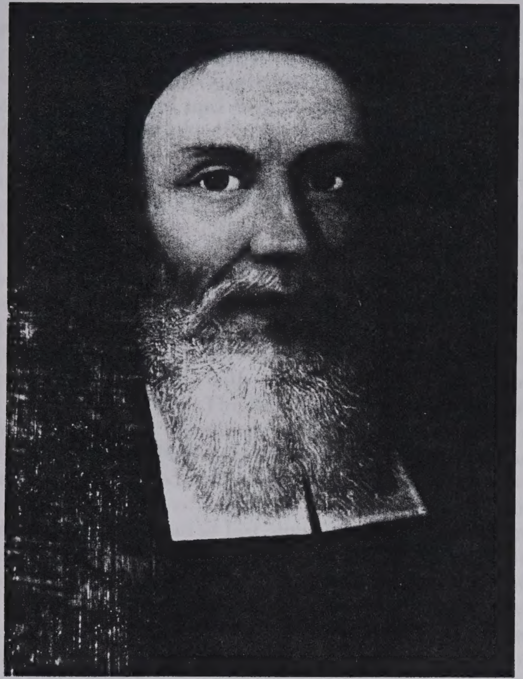
1696 On 4 August 1696 the missionaries sailed from Sweden on the ship *Palmboom.* They took with them 1,600 printed items including thirty Bibles, six books of homilies, 100 hymnals, 100 catechisms in Swedish and 500 in an Indian dialect.[5] On the North Sea a violent storm tossed the boat as if it were a child's ball; and in the English Channel it ran aground on a shoal from which, however, it was able to extricate itself. These encounters with the wrath of wind and water were not enough to cause the travellers, fortified by missionary zeal, to have second thoughts about their undertaking and return to a safe haven in Sweden.

In London the travellers were detained for some reason and their new ship, the *Happy Union,* sailed without them. This turned out to be a fortunate occurrence for the unhappy travellers, but an unfortunate one for the *Happy Union,* which ran into a storm and lost its rudder, mast, and sails. It finally made a landfall in Portugal instead of America.

Anders Printz, who had accompanied the missionaries intending to settle in America, was seized by a press gang in London, as Charles Springer had been. Unlike Springer, however, he was never seen or heard from again. Another Swede, Jonas Bjurström, took his place as a traveling companion to the missionaries.

1697 On 4 February 1697 after King William III had personally signed their passports, the missionaries finally sailed for America on the *Jefferies.* Ten weeks later the ship arrived in Virginia where anchor was cast with "joy and gladness." The ship proceeded to Annapolis, Maryland, where the English governor, Francis Nicholson, magnanimously entertained the travelling Swedes for about two weeks.[6] The governor donated the equivalent of about twenty *riksdaler* for travel expenses and had two men carry onto the boat that had been provided for the final lap of the journey—a sloop this time—"as many bottles as possible filled with all kinds of liquors" and probably other more solid provisions, too. Via Trantown on the Elk River the Swedes finally arrived among their countrymen in Christina, Delaware. As a final gesture of hospitality, the skipper of the sloop declined any payment. When they first stepped ashore, the travellers must have been confounded and extremely pleased with the non-Swedish greeting in a strange land. Now they had a Swedish reception, and it was no less overwhelming, although it took other forms. People came on horseback or foot from as far away as forty to fifty miles and from across the river in the Jerseys to see and hear their future spiritual leaders.

In 1667 the Swedish colonists under the leadership of Lars Lokenius had built a log church at Cranehook. In Wicacoa there 1667 was a similar structure. On 27 June the new ministers held divine services at the Cranehook church during which prayers and thanks were offered. Three days later an identical service was conducted in Wicacoa. Shortly thereafter Rudman, the senior minister, decided to take charge of the Wicacoa church, while Biörck chose Cranehook. Aurén would serve as an itinerant preacher. Since the Cranehook church was small and in disrepair, a new building was needed. Biörck decided then and there that a new church would be built in Christina. He was also the person to make such a decision—a man of action, indomitable, methodical, tenacious and even bullheaded, often contentious, not overly tolerant of opposition, yet keenly aware of his clerical duties and responsibilities. He was mindful, too, of the dignity of his office and let it be known that on formal occasions he preferred to be addressed as "*Årevördige herr magister Ericus Biörck*" (Reverend Sir . . .). He told the young people not to approach him with hats on their heads or pipes in their mouths. One would think that by making such edicts he was sowing the seeds of discontent, but the force of his character was such that



Pastor Eric Biörck. (Original in church in Falun Sweden; copy in Trinity ("Old Swedes") Church, Wilmington, Del.)

he gained both respect and admiration. In the course of time his parishioners—with some exceptions, of course—praised both God and Charles XI for having sent him to them.

Shortly after his arrival Biörck took stock of the new country and its people. It was a pleasant land, he said, with an abundance of blessings: all work was light; taxes were even lighter; and every person (except the Indian) was just as well dressed as the people of privilege in Sweden. There was plenty of meat and fish and enough food and drink to satisfy everyone. The Indians were not possessed by evil, in fact, they took pleasure learning the catechism; but they preferred to go around naked. Most people were able to read, the authorities did not intervene in the affairs of the church, and the Swedes and the Englishmen were compatible. This seems like the evaluation of a man who was standing with one foot in the Garden of Eden. But well aware of life's imperfections, he added that the Swedes in America had irregular church habits and that the young people did not pay attention to advice or instruction.

Biörck immediately formed a committee with Charles Springer, Hans Petterson, Henrik Ivarson, Staffan Goranson, Olle Franson, and several others to consider the building of a new church; and now he had to deal with a group of irresolute procrastinators. All the same, it was decided that a stone church would be raised on a plot of land donated by Johan Stalcup. Biörck soon learned that frugality bordering on stinginess and plain stubbornness characterized the members of his congregation; but his obstinacy surpassed theirs, and thus his will prevailed over their objections and desires to postpone the building project. Once plans for the construction of the church had been drawn up, however, the members contributed not only money, building materials, and free labor but eagerness as well.

Having thus overcome resistance, Biörck proceeded to carry out the project. He hired stonemasons, carpenters, and other workers to build the church "with God's help." Biörck's enthusiasm spread to Charles Springer, who now rode on horseback to Philadelphia and throughout New Jersey and Maryland to get support for the undertaking in Christina. Every day during the building of the church, Biörck wrote a detailed report. He noted the names of the 130 men who all together contributed 1,083 days of work. Oftentimes, he himself participated in the work or contributed financially out of his meager salary.

The cornerstone was laid in May 1698. On a November day the roof raising was celebrated with great rejoicing. There was an abundance of food and drink donated by both parishioners and visitors: Charles Springer gave a barrel of ale and seven quarts of rum; Staffan Goranson contributed a sheep worth twelve shillings; and the widow on Pumkinudden across the river, five pounds of butter worth six pence and so on. 1698

Without any distinction of social class but at a small fee, eighty-seven seats for men and seventy-seven for women were assigned in the newly installed pews. Two seats were reserved for visitors, one for the vestryman, and two were left empty.

Latin inscriptions in characters of wrought iron were placed on the walls of the church. In translation, one of them reads: "If God be with us, who can be against us?" These words seem to summarize Biörck's creed and to provide the basis for his actions. The year 1698 was placed above this motto. Below it, the inscription continues, in translation: "In the reign of William III, by the grace of God, King of England. William Penn being Proprietary; William Markham, Vice Governor. The most illustrious King of the Swedes, Charles XI, now in most glorious memory, having sent hither Eric Tobias Biörck of Västmanland, present pastor." On the east gable, the inscription reads: "The light arising from on high shines in the darkness," and elsewhere: "Christ is our polestar" and "Immanuel."[7]

1699

In 1699 the church was completed and ready for use. It was a simple rectangular building with a shingled roof but no steeple—one was added in 1802. The bell was hung in a walnut tree in the churchyard. The ceremony of dedication was held on Trinity Sunday, 4 June 1699. The bell rang out over land and water, into the wilderness, and across the river to the shores of Jersey. It was a moment of solemnity. Hopes and aspirations together with hard work had at last attained results. The church was crowded with people not only of the Lutheran faith. Dressed in white vestments, Rudman, Biörck, and Aurén officiated in accordance with Swedish liturgy. Rudman's text was taken from Psalms 126:3: "*Ja, Herren har gjort stora ting med oss, därför voro vi glada.*" (Jehovah hath done great things for us, whereof we were glad.)

After the ceremony, members of the congregation and the more prominent visitors were treated to food and drink at the home of the churchwarden Johan Stalcup.[8] Lamb, calf, deer, turkey, eggs, butter, sugar, salt, raisins, bread, ale, red wine, rum, cake, and coffee were served by twenty parishioners. Forty pounds of wheat flour, five and one-half sheep, one-half calf, and one-quarter deer were consumed, satisfying every appetite.

That Trinity Sunday was a day of joy. The labor and achievements of the Swedes in Christina were recognized and praised throughout the region and beyond. Nothing as splendid as the new Swedish church had thus far been built in this part of the country by any congregation. The colonists' gratitude for Biörck knew no limits. It was said that any minister who aspired to take his place would be at a great disadvantage unless he was an extraordinarily wise and caring person. *Ad astra per aspera!*

While Biörck had built and consecrated a church, Rudman had encountered a profusion of troubles with his congregation in Wicacoa.[9] The difficulties began when it was decided that a new church would be built to replace the old log one. The people were unable to agree on a location for the new structure. There were accusations and petty quarrels. The ill wind continued to blow, generating animosity and rancor. Rudman, a man of peace, was unable to promote brotherly love. His temperament was different from Eric Biörck's, who wasted no words in letting his flock in Christina know what was good for them. When the controversy was at its height, Rudman could do nothing but shrug his shoulders and declare with resignation that a servant of God could expect nothing but trouble. Nevertheless, the contending parties finally did reach an agreement, and the church was built at the river's edge and dedicated on 2 July 1700 with Eric Biörck as officiant.

Biörck had now married Johan Stalcup's daughter Christina and moved into the unfinished parsonage. His salary was in arrears, but this circumstance was a common one for most Swedish pastors both before and after Biörck. He was eventually recalled to Sweden but delayed his return as long as possible. After receiving an appointment to a pastorate in Falun, Dalecarlia, and letting one more year pass, he together with his wife and five children departed from America on 29 June 1714. Fellow pastors, trustees, wardens, parishioners, and many others took part in an emotional farewell. He died in 1740 and is possibly buried in the preachers' grave in Falun's Kristine Church. After returning to Sweden, he was described as a pious, industrious, and zealous teacher—a worthy but far too benign and incomplete characterization of a man whose attributes were much more formidable than this. It is possible that Biörck did not find the challenge and resistance in Falun that he had faced in Christina and that had brought out latent traits in his personality.

From Falun, Biörck maintained frequent correspondence with Charles Springer and the elders in Christina. Respect and admiration were mutual. Long into the future, the people in Christina habitually counted their age in relation to Biörck's time—the older ones from his arrival in America and the younger ones from his departure.

NOTES

[1] Israel Acrelius, *A History of New Sweden* (Philadelphia, 1874), 178.
[2] Acrelius, 181–182.

[3] Acrelius, 187–188.

[4] Acrelius, 199.

[5] Acrelius, 199. Johan Campanius Holm translated the Lutheran Catechism into an Indian language—that of the Leni-Lenapes tribe.

[6] Acrelius, 201.

[7] Jehu Curtis Clay, *Annals of the Swedes on the Delaware*, 4th ed. (Chicago, 1938), 93–94.

[8] The name Stalcup is an americanized form of Stålkofta. The first Johan Andersson Stålkofta served as a constable at Fort Christina in 1654. He was unable to read, write, or spell. Twelve years later he must appear before an English magistrate who did not understand Swedish and who gave Johan and his descendants the surname Stalcup. Similar changes occurred in such names as Bonde, which became Boon; Halling, Hewling; Hjelm, Helm; and Goranson, which after a series of forms became Justice.

[9] Acrelius, 203–214.

HISTORY OF THE SWEDISH COLONIES IN LAWRENCE AND BARRY COUNTIES, MISSOURI

JOHN LINDQUIST

Sixty years ago, families were neighbors if they lived five or ten miles apart. But as emigration increased, distances between neighbors decreased. Today a radius of a mile or two on either side of us, is all that we call a neighborhood. Beyond that is designated the Smith or Jones neighborhood. The result is that we know very little of one another. And so the Swiss becomes a "Swede" and the German a "Dutchman." It is the work of the future historian to remove this confusion and clarify the question of nationalities so that we may all be as we ought to be—a homogenous nation with common interests, aims and aspirations. The Swedish nationality is peculiarly susceptible to such transformation, which fact should at this time be well known to our native born Americans.

Immigration from Sweden and Scandinavia generally reached its zenith in the decade from 1865 to 1875. [Actually in the early 1880s. ED.] The ever-increasing demand on the common people to augment the military establishment which had become necessary after more than ninety years of almost continuous warfare in Europe; the ever increasing difficulty in securing a home; the spirit of the time was crystallized in the question: "Chauvinism versus Patriotism." (I am happy to say, in parenthesis, that this state of mind is entirely changed; Sweden is today as democratic as the United States.)

From the above, one is not to draw the inference that the Swedes would not fight. Read the history of the Reformation, and the wars with Russia, and learn that the Baltic was at one time almost an inland sea of Sweden. My countrymen took prominent part in the American Revolution, and at least one Swede [i.e. the Swedish descendant John Morton] signed the Declaration of Independence. It was the famous Swedish engineer [John Ericson] who built the *Monitor* that turned the tide of

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TRACES OF THE SWEDISH PRESENCE ALONG THE DELAWARE

Evert A. Larsson

In 1607 the English made their first permanent settlement in the New World; in 1614 the Dutch established themselves in Manhattan (New York), and in 1638 the Swedes founded the colony of New Sweden along the shores of Delaware River. The New Sweden colony comprised large areas of the present states of Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. The Dutch, under the autocratic governor of New Netherland, Peter Stuyvesant, looked upon the Swedes as intruders and in 1655 imperiously seized the Swedish colony, but their joy of possession came to an end nine years later when they, in turn, were defeated by the English.

With some exceptions, the Swedes chose to remain in their lost colony, placing themselves under allegiance to the new governments, first the Dutch, then the English.

Even if New Sweden ceased to exist as an ambitious colonial experiment, it endured as an ethnic enclave and the Swedes continued to multiply in numbers, to build homes and establish communities, to cherish the old Swedish customs and their language, but above all else to persevere in their religious practices.

Peter Kalm in his *Travels into North America* (1753–61) describes a village, Repaupo in New Jersey, where in 1748, 110 years following the settlement of New Sweden, the Swedish language was used in both speech and writing, and where a Swedish school functioned.

New Sweden, if no longer on the map, is nevertheless a happening of historical significance especially embodied and perpetuated in the churches the Swedes built. Six of these churches still exist as an echo of a colonial past and a reminder of one country's contribution in the creation of this nation.

Before 1770, vital statistics were noted in the Swedish language in the church records, and the ministers' sermons, with some exceptions, were delivered in the same language. However, gradually a change took place.

The six churches, still in use, originally Swedish-Lutheran, became, one after another, Anglicized in faith as well as language and Episcopal in name. With that transformation, it might be said, the second fall of New Sweden was ushered in.

Among the reasons for this change were the dissolution of ecclesiastical connections with Sweden, the alteration in character and composition of the congregations, and a desire for accommodation to the attitude and sentiment of the times.

What seems to be little noted is the role the missionaries or clergy sent from Sweden played in the American Colonies. It is no exaggeration to say that they wrote a colorful chapter, of many hues actually, in the historical annals of this country. They were men of intellect and learning, resourceful, many-sided in their interests and accomplishments, and above all devoted and duty-bound to the demands of their calling.

Before the presently remaining churches were erected, the Swedes had built several log churches: in 1641 at Fort Christina (Wilmington, Delaware); in 1643 on Tinicum Island on the Delaware; in 1667 at Crane Hook or Tranudden (Wilmington); in 1703 at Raccoon (Swedesboro) and Penns Neck, New Jersey. None of these earlier churches remain, but guides are always eager to point out their sites, usually near the present churches.

The first Lutheran minister to serve in America was Reorus Torkillus, a school chaplain from Gothenburg, who arrived in 1640. When Governor Johan Printz arrived in 1643, he brought with him two clergymen, one of whom was Johan Campanius Holm. Campanius was a man of many talents: an astronomer, inventor, writer, farmer, and translator of the Lutheran catechism into a not fully identifiable Indian dialect. He made a lasting impression in the colonies and for more than two hundred years the legend persisted he had "journeyed into the country among the savages [Indians] and made his way to Sweden by land."

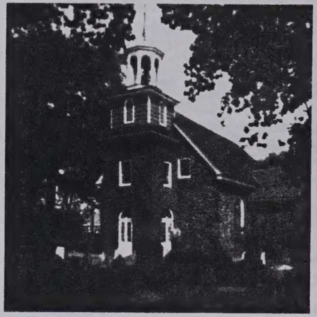
In 1696, forty-one years after losing its colony, Sweden—evidently after considerable soul-searching—responded to the pleadings of the Swedish settlers in America for ministrations by ordained clergymen by commissioning and dispatching across the waters the first of a succession of Lutheran pastors during the next eighty years. They were the Reverends Anders Rudman and Erik Björck,[1] the man responsible on almost

all counts for the building in 1698 of the Holy Trinity ("Old Swedes") Church in Wilmington, Delaware, alleged to be the oldest Protestant church in the country still in use. It is a venerable sanctuary on which centuries have bestowed their charm. Its presence from early colonial times, long before these states became united, is enticing to anyone with a mind attuned to American history, including its Swedish dimension. In one way it is a monument to stubbornness—Erik Björck's. He breached all obstacles and objections, and with vigorous determination built the structure. He engaged stonemasons, carpenters, and other craftsmen for the work and participated himself. He made a contract with John Harrison to do "all ye Inside work—that is all ye pews and Windows, shot work and ye pulpit with a canape over it and a pew of each side of ye communion Table and also with Reals and Banisters about ye church—and [to] finish all ye Sealing Joice which is to doe and fitt in ye sealing of ye Roof—and to doe with plained Boards over ye three doors in ye church where it is left undone."[2] The church became Episcopal in 1791.

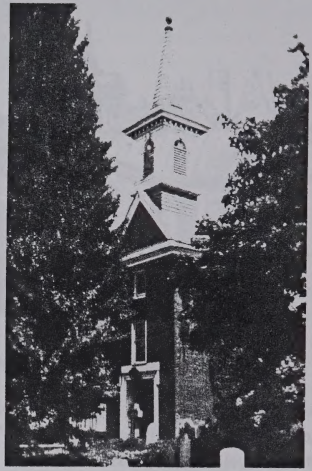
1698 / 1700 Anders Rudman took charge of the church in Wicaco (Philadelphia), a log structure, a former storage building that had belonged to a wealthy landowner in the area, Sven Svensson. Rudman was the founder of and instrumental in the building of the present church, Gloria Dei, ("Old Swedes"), between 1698-1700. It is another old treasure equal in charm and historical significance to the church in Wilmington. The building and yard are enclosed by a brick wall. The church, a National Shrine, has the appearance of a Swedish country church, blending effectively with Philadelphia colonial architecture.

Gloria Dei was one of three churches included in the so-called Wicaco Mission, the other two being St. James, "Old Swedes," in Kingsessing and Christ, "Old Swedes," in Upper Marion, Pennsylvania. The mission was closed in 1831 upon the death of the last Swedish minister, Nils Collin. At various times thereafter, the three churches were also transferred to the jurisdiction of the Episcopal church.

The floor of the center aisle of Gloria Dei in Philadelphia is covered with gravestones giving the names and other data of several early Swedish pastors resting beneath, including Rudman, whose stone reads: "This monument covers the remains of the Rev. Andrew Rudman. Being sent hither from Sweden, he first founded and built this church—was a constant and faithful preacher in the English, Swedish and Dutch churches, eleven years in this country, where he advanced true piety by sound doctrine and good example. He died September 17, A.D. 1708, aged 40 years."[3]



Holy Trinity ("Old Swedes") Church, Wilmington, Delaware.



Gloria Dei ("Old Swedes") Church, Philadelphia.

Suspended from the ceiling of the church are models of the two sailing vessels, *Calmare Nyckel* and *Fogel Grip*, which brought the original Swedes to America. A Swedish flag has a place to the right of the altar. A carved wooden cherub is located below the organ loft, its Swedish inscription reading, "The people who wander in darkness shall see a great light," and "Glory to God in the highest." The tongue of the bell, the baptismal Font and the cherub came from the original log church on Tinicum Island.

Among other items in the church are a Swedish wedding gown from 1798, bibles, including a so-called "Breeches Bible" donated by William Penn, letters from Sweden and from William Penn, and some items from Nils Collin.

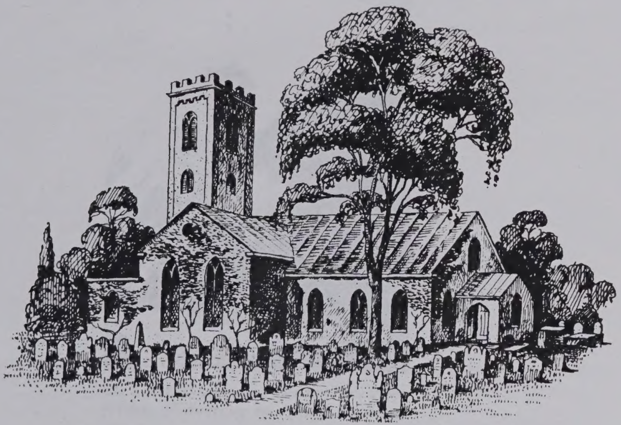
Betsy Ross was married in the church. In the yard is a granite

monument to John Hanson and many bronze plaques memorializing such Swedish notables as Johan Printz, third governor of New Sweden and first governor of Pennsylvania; Johan Risingh, last governor of New Sweden; John Morton, a signer of the Declaration of Independence; and the inventor, John Ericsson.[4] In the burial ground is an old gravestone with an inscription in Swedish.

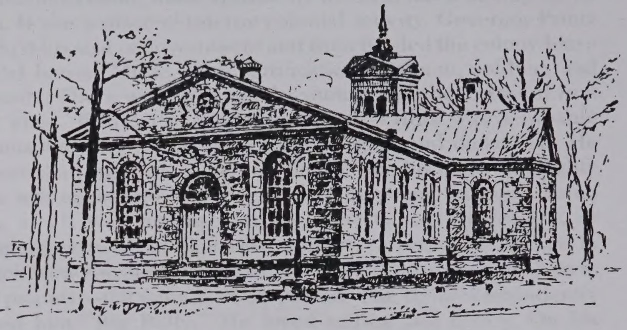
The Swedes in Upper Marion, Pennsylvania, built their church, Christ, "Old Swedes," in 1760. It has the appearance of an English country church. The many gravestones in the churchyard carry the names of early Swedish settlers. The stained glass windows in the church depict the early arrival of the Swedes in the colony and their subsequent occupations as farmers, soldiers, sailors, builders, fishermen, and the like. The church owns a baptismal font presented to it in 1886 by Prince Oscar of Sweden. It is inscribed, "Sweden's blessing to Sweden's children."

St. James, "Old Swedes," Church in Kingsessing (Philadelphia) was built in 1762. An addition was built in 1855 at the rear of the church. Karl Magnus von Wrangel was the first and Nils Collin the last of the Swedish pastors.[5]

The first church in Raccoon (now Swedesboro), New Jersey, was a log structure. There was also a schoolhouse which was burnt down by the British in 1778. Jesper Svedberg, Jr., a brother of Emanuel Swedenborg, had served there as the schoolmaster in the 1720s. The present church building of mellowed red brick in English Georgian style was erected in 1784 through the efforts and determination of Nils Collin. The windows and the pews are the same Collin placed in the church two hundred years ago. Exhibited under glass is a Swedish bible—a present from King Gustav V. Suspended on the barrier below the balcony is a Swedish flag of immense proportions. It overwhelmingly reminds the visitor of the origin of the church. Adjacent to the church, at the site of the old log church, is the New Sweden Park dedicated in 1964. In 1786 the church became Episcopal.

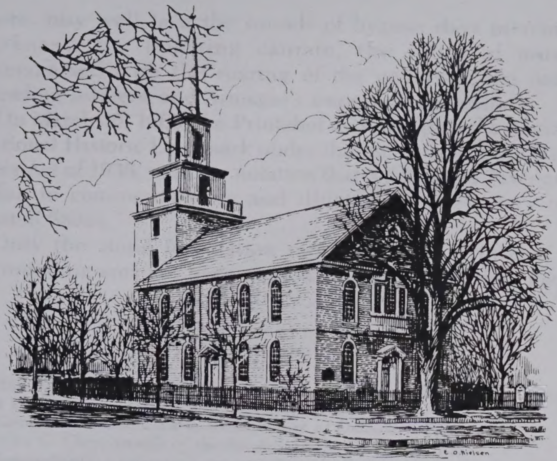


Christ Church ("Old Swedes"), Upper Merion, Pennsylvania.



St. James ("Old Swedes") Church of Kingsessing, Philadelphia.

In 1714 Bishop Jesper Svedberg of Skara in Sweden authorized the building of a church in Penns Neck (now Pennsville), New Jersey. The original log church was dedicated by the Reverend Anders Sandell. A new structure, St. George Church, still standing, was built in 1811. This is the smallest of the six churches and the one least conscious of a Swedish past. It does not carry the designation "Old Swedes" in its name. Members of the congregation were few and more often non-Swedish than Swedish. At one time there were only four members: an Englishman, a Frenchman, a Dutchman, and a Swede. Epidemics decimated the area's population and Moravian Brethren infiltrated the congregation. Among the Moravian preachers were some from Sweden.



Trinity ("Old Swedes") Church, Swedesboro, New Jersey.

St. George Church, Pennsville, New Jersey. (Courtesy of Alden Richardson.)

Tinicum Island, made insular by a creek, has a history all its own. It was a place of intense colonial activity. Governor Printz made it his seat of government and from it ruled the colony like a feudal baron. There were fortifications, cannon, soldiers and servants. There were commands, shouts, and the clatter of iron and glass. Emissaries came and went. Printz was a capable commander, but at the same time arrogant and dictatorial. He tolerated no opposition and one glance from his narrow, haughty eyes was enough to convince anyone he meant business. In no way at all was he inferior in tenacity, assertiveness, or competence to his northern counterpart, Governor Stuyvesant in Dutch New Amsterdam. Printz was a big man, weighing close to 400 pounds—400 pounds of despotism. The Indians impudently called him "Big Belly." He loved sailing and luxury. On his pleasure yacht he traveled up and down the river. He built a "palace," a church, and other structures on the island. Everything burned down in 1645, but within a short period of time he rebuilt his residence, which he named Printzhof or Printz Hall. He erected a new church, put up a belfry, and laid out a cemetery. His fort, New Gothenburg, had many guns commanding the river. The governor's residence was a two-story log building, whose interior, finished with lumber from Sweden, contained fireplaces, glass windows, draperies, and a library.

The Governor was not malevolent, but his ruthlessness finally caused dissension in the colony and many deserted. In 1653 he and his family returned to Sweden, leaving his lieutenant, Johan Papegoja, in charge. Papegoja was married to Printz's daughter, Armagot, a woman very much in her father's mold. Later, Papegoja also returned to Sweden, but without his wife. Madame Papegoja promptly dropped her married name and once more became a Printz. With the blessing of Governor Stuyvesant, she settled down on Tinicum Island and made a living of sorts by farming and by distilling corn liquor in "prudent amounts." She remained on the island in a kind of primitive splendor for more than twenty years; the English governor who later supplanted the Dutch also tolerated her presence on the island. She then left for Sweden, but later returned to America to appear as a litigant in a court case. It has been suggested that Armagot was the first feminist in America.

The person who visits Tinicum at night, when the howling winds sweep across the island and the waves beat against the

shore, may well hear the sounds of bygone days piercing the darkness: the booming cannon, the rattle of muskets, interspersed with the roaring of the governor, the oaths of brawling soldiers, and Armagot's imperious commands.

On March 30, 1963, the Printzhof was designated a Registered National Historic Landmark under the provisions of the Historic Sites Act of 1935, with the notation that it possesses "exceptional value in commemorating and illustrating the history of the United States."

Only the stone foundation remains of the Printzhof. The surrounding area has been named the Governor Printz Park.[8]

NOTES

[1] Erik Björck was born 1668 in Köping, Sweden. He returned to Sweden 1714, died 1740, and was buried in the church at Falun.

[2] George F. Bennett, *Early Architecture of Delaware*, 25.

[3] Jehu C. Clay, *Annals of the Swedes on the Delaware*, 106.

[4] Johan Printz, a minister's son, was born in Bottnaryd, Småland, in 1592. He died in 1663 and is buried in the church of Bottnaryd.

[5] Nils Collin was an exceptionally gifted man. He was a friend of Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin, a trustee of the University of Pennsylvania, and vice-president of the American Philosophical Society.

[6] The old bell from Tinicum Church was recast in 1806. The present bell bears the following inscription: "Into the Church the living call, and to the grave do summon all."

[7] About a mile north of Governor Printz Park stands the "Morton Homestead," the original portion of which may be the oldest surviving structure in Pennsylvania. The grandfather of John Morton, Mårten Mårtensson, built it around 1665.

[8] Text in the program at the dedication of Printzhof, 1963, by U.S. Department of the Interior, Park Service.

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WRITERS IN THIS ISSUE

MICHAEL F. METCALF is associate professor of history at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis and an expert on eighteenth-century Scandinavia.

EMORY JOHNSON, who died in December 1986, was a Lutheran minister and long-time archivist for the former Minnesota Conference of the Augustana Lutheran Synod in St. Peter, Minnesota.

REVIEWERS:

H. ARNOLD BARTON is professor of history at Southern Illinois University at Carbondale and editor of the *Quarterly*; OLLE ENGSTRÖM is on the faculty of Teologiska Seminariet in Lidingö, associated with Svenska Missionsförbundet; SIGNE T. NIELSON BETSINGER is assistant director of the Agricultural Experiment Station at the University of Minnesota-St. Paul.

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION (Act of October 23, 1962, Section 4369, Title 39, United States Code) of the SWEDISH-AMERICAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY, ISSN-0730-028. Published quarterly at Decorah, Iowa.

1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, and managing editor are: publisher, The Swedish-American Historical Society (formerly the Swedish Pioneer Historical Society), 5125 North Spaulding Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60625; editor, H. Arnold Barton, Department of History, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Illinois 62901.

2. The owner is: The Swedish-American Historical Society, a Non-Profit Educational Association, under the laws of the state of Illinois. E. Stanley Enlund, 403 Burr Ridge Club Drive, Hinsdale, Illinois 60521, chairman of the board; John S. Grimshaw, 33 West Monroe Street, Suite 1710, Chicago, Illinois 60603, treasurer.

3. The known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of the total bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: none.

4. Total copies regularly printed, 1,800. Paid circulation, 1,611 each quarter. Sales through agents, news dealers, or otherwise, O. Free distribution, 30. Total copies distributed each quarter, 1,641.

I certify that the statements made by me are correct and complete.

H. Arnold Barton

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THE EDITOR'S CORNER

On the 350th Anniversary of New Sweden on the Delaware

With this first number of the *Quarterly* for 1988 we hail the 350th anniversary of the founding of the New Sweden colony in 1638. Plans have long been afoot to commemorate this event in fitting style. In view of all that will be said and done, it seems appropriate to attempt some appraisal of the colony's actual historic significance.

It was certainly no small feat for the thinly populated Swedish monarchy—then heavily engaged in the Thirty Years' War—to join the Spaniards, English, French, and Dutch in the early colonization of North America. This was not the least remarkable accomplishment of Sweden's "Age of Greatness."

Yet the enterprise must be put into perspective. New Sweden was the last, shortest-lived, and smallest of Europe's North American colonies, both in territory and population. The initiative and original capital were mainly Dutch; Pieter Minuit, who in 1626 purchased Manhattan Island from the Indians for the Dutch West India Company, led the first Swedish expedition in 1638. During the following 17 years, until Sweden surrendered the colony to the Dutch in 1655, its population peaked at 368 persons. Many—if not indeed most—of the Swedish settlers were actually Finns, although Finland was until 1809 an integral part of the Swedish kingdom and these colonists were recruited among the so-called "Forest Finns" (*Skogsfinnar*), recent settlers in Sweden itself from central Finland.

Much has been written of the contributions to American life and history of the New Sweden colonists and their descendants, and these have certainly been at least proportionate to their modest numbers. No less impressive was the tenacious survival of Swedish language, religion, and customs in the Delaware Valley, largely through the dedicated efforts of pastors sent out by the Church of Sweden, a good century and a half after the Swedish flag was hauled down at Fort Christina.

The greatest significance of New Sweden—it must be owned—has meanwhile been symbolic, for its existence laid the groundwork for a long and intimate association between Sweden, Finland, and the United States, and for a distinctive sense of

identity for the far larger numbers of Swedes and Finns who came to America from the mid-nineteenth century on and for their numerous descendants. Nothing has played a greater part in forming their self-image.

While Anglo-American historians like Jehu C. Clay and Benjamin Ferris published laudatory accounts of the Swedes on the Delaware already in the 1830s and '40s, the true founder of the New Sweden tradition was the patriarchal Johan A. Enander, long-time editor of the influential newspaper *Hemlandet* in Chicago. Only five years after arriving in America in 1869, he commenced publication of a massive Swedish-language history of the United States, which may have been the most widely distributed secular Swedish-American work ever to appear. He was also an immensely popular public speaker. While Enander valiantly strove to claim some Swedish role in the Norse discovery of America around 1000 A.D., colonial New Sweden had been indisputably Swedish, and he made the most of it. Its colonists, he proclaimed, represented the best of their nation. They were sober, industrious, and God-fearing folk, who treated the native Indians with fairness and respect, and who allowed no slavery in their midst. They were from the start, in Enander's view, better "Americans" in thought and deed than the ruthless and materialistic English and Dutch. Meanwhile, although they came from "Freedom's homeland on earth," in America they found greater freedom still, from the pretensions of an arrogant aristocracy, and thus a better future themselves and their children. To fellow Swedish Americans, he offered them as heroic models of sterling character, steadfast devotion to ancestral faith and culture, and unswerving patriotism toward the new homeland. (See also my comments on Enander in a book review in this issue.) Enander's staunch disciple was Dr. Amandus Johnson, founder of the American-Swedish Historical Museum in Philadelphia, a veritable shrine to the Swedish presence on the Delaware. Among Finnish Americans, Salomon Ilmonen in particular played a similar role. Thus a legend was created.

This year's anniversary has moved historians to reexamine the history of the colony with healthy objectivity and methodological rigor, and official Sweden to promote Swedish manufactures and tourism. But for Swedish and Finnish Americans, colonial New Sweden remains as before their own proud birthright and the keystone of their ethnic pride.

H.A.B.

LETTERS FROM THE DELAWARE, I:
The Rev. Erik Björck, March 22, 1698

translated, edited, and introduced by

MICHAEL F. METCALF

Rev. Erik Björck was one of two clergymen selected by the Church of Sweden in 1696 to renew its ministry to the Swedish settlers along the banks of the Delaware River. Born in Västmanland in 1668 and trained at the University of Uppsala, Björck was to serve as pastor to the Christina Congregation at what is now Wilmington, Delaware, from 1698 until 1713. Following a brief stint as provost of the Swedish congregations in America, and having been appointed pastor of the important congregation at Falun by King Charles XII, Björck and his Swedish-American wife left the New World together with their children in 1714.[1] The letter published here is not the first Björck wrote back to Sweden, but it is the first we know of to members of his family.[2] More importantly, it contains many interesting observations about the perilous nature of his trans-Atlantic crossing and about the circumstances he encountered in the Swedish communities of the Delaware Valley.

To appreciate Björck's letter fully, one must understand the background of his assignment to the Delaware. Following the transfer of New Sweden to the Dutch, in 1655, and then to the English, in 1664, the original Swedish and Finnish settlers in what are today Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New Jersey continued to worship according to the rites of the Church of Sweden. The spiritual needs of these colonists had been met by Swedish clergymen sent out during the years of Swedish control of the Delaware, but the last of these, Rev. Lars Lokenius, died in 1688. Lokenius had ministered to both Swedish congregations, i.e., to that at Tinicum Church and Wicacoa, in the north, and to that at Fort Christina and Crane Hook, in the south, until he was joined in 1677 by Rev. Jacob Fabritius of New York, who assumed responsibility for the Tinicum/Wicacoa congregation. Despite the fact that Fabritius went blind in 1682 and later fell into rather poor

health, it was he who assumed responsibility for both congregations following Lokenius' death. [3]

The death of Rev. Lokenius and the infirmities of Rev. Fabritius left the Swedish settlers and their descendants without the benefit of clergy, and they thus took steps to recruit new Swedish ministers. While their initial communications seem not to have reached their destinations, the Swedes on the Delaware did receive a glimmer of hope in the form of a letter dated November 16, 1692, from Jean Thelin, the postmaster at Gothenburg.[4] Thelin's letter was prompted by a chance meeting in Stockholm with a Swede who had recently visited the Swedish settlers in America, and who informed him of their desire to receive ministers and religious literature. Responding to Thelin's admonition to describe their circumstances and submit a formal request, Carl Christopherson Springer and thirty other Swedes replied on May 31, 1693, asking that King Charles XI send them two ministers and a number of Bibles, catechisms, primers, and other religious works. Accompanying this letter was a list of 188 Swedish households (thirty-nine of them headed by men born in Sweden) with a total of 942 persons, and it prompted a positive response from the Church of Sweden, as well as from the king.[5]

1648

For reasons that remain unclear, Charles XI's letter to the archbishop of Uppsala requesting that he "seek out and provide the Swedish settlers in America with such learned and godly men as they desire" is dated February 18, 1696, or nearly three years later than the letter sent to Thelin by the Swedish-Americans.[6] Aided by the dean of the cathedral, Dr. Jesper Svedberg, Archbishop Olof Svebilius selected Rev. Andreas Rudman and the yet-to-be-ordained student, Erik Björck, for this mission. Björck was then ordained by the Church of Sweden on May 11, 1696, and on June 25 the archbishop issued his commission to the two clergymen to minister to the congregations on the Delaware. Together with Rev. Jonas Aurén, another newly-ordained minister, who was sent along by Charles XI not to minister to the Swedish settlers, but rather to observe conditions in the former colony and to return to Sweden in the near future, Rudman and Björck were granted an audience with the king on or about July 15 and left for London less than three weeks later.[7]

Thus began the Swedish mission to the Delaware. Once they arrived in America in June 1697, Rev. Rudman, as the first to have been selected for the mission, chose to devote his efforts to the Tinicum/Wicacoa congregation, leaving the congregation at Fort Christina and Crane Hook to Rev. Björck. The two clergymen supervised the construction of proper churches at Christina and Wicacoa, undertook the task of ministering to their far-flung congregations, and prepared the way for a long succession of missionaries sent out by the Church of Sweden. Between 1696 and 1780, some twenty-five Swedish clergymen were sent to the congregations of the Delaware Valley.[8] Thereafter, the waning knowledge of Swedish and the continued intermarriage of the descendants of Swedes and Englishmen led the congregations to wean themselves from the Church of Sweden. Although the Christina congregation merged instead with the Episcopal Church in 1791, the Wicacoa congregation remained a part of the Church of Sweden until the death of the last remaining Swedish minister, Rev. Nicholas Collin, who had been sent to the Delaware in 1770.[9]

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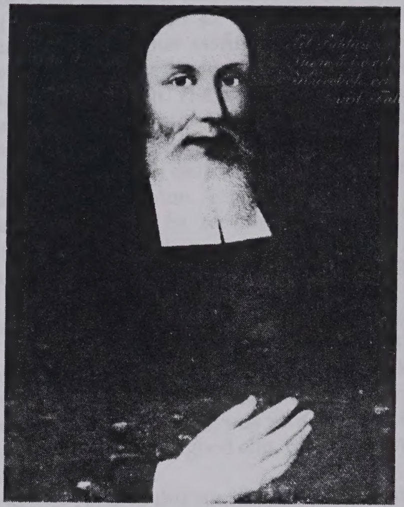

Pastor Erik Björck. Original in church in Falun, Sweden; copy in Trinity ("Old Swedes") Church, Wilmington, Del. (Courtesy of Evert A. Larsson.)

My dearly beloved brother and sister,[10]

After I had the comfort of receiving your two letters before leaving England altogether—i.e., the letters I answered from Deal and Portsmouth—and after we had stayed there in the harbors long enough, God finally gave us a good wind from Portsmouth to Plymouth on March 22, so that we arrived there two days later at midday. On the one hand, we wanted to put in at Plymouth. Having stayed in the other ports for such a long time, and not having found it wise to buy our supplies there for the long trip across the great ocean, since they would all be used up before we left, we had planned to wait until our last harbor, Plymouth. On the other hand, we did not want to put in at Plymouth, since we had had to wait such a long time before being able to put out to sea. Faced with this quandry, the ships laid to just outside the harbor from midday until evening.

The convoy commander wanted to put in, but the fleet did not.[11] In the end, after the wind came up, we set off in the name of Jesus, but we came to lack things on the journey, since we had not put in and had not had the chance to buy what we had planned to. As night turned to day and the wind turned against us—and seeing Falmouth (near Portsmouth), the very last port in England—we had to tack toward the side where the commander planned to put in if the wind continued to work against us for very long. But toward evening the wind shifted for the better, so that we came out to sea; Falmouth and the Lizard, which we then saw, marked the last land we were to see until we reached Virginia.

prior to
1698

In all, we were twenty-eight ships with several different destinations, but on March 22 there was a fog so thick that we could not see one another, and the wind blew pretty stiffly, too. The fog and wind lasted until the twenty-ninth, by which time only five of the ships remained together. After noon on that day, as the storm calmed down somewhat and the fog lifted, fourteen ships came together. Of these, four left us three days later, our commander first entertaining some of the other captains, firing a few shots in thanksgiving that they had happily made it out to sea with us. Thus did they bid us farewell.

A brittle wind came upon us on April 2, blowing without a whip, but we could only use two sails, and sometimes not even those, for some of the ships were such lazy sailors that they could hardly keep up with us, although they carried twelve to fourteen sails. Nor could we leave them, and we had this nice wind for five days. During that same flying wind, we encountered a Frenchman headed for Newfoundland with wine, bread, etc., and our commander quickly overpowered him, taking from the poor fellow all he owned. The crew of that ship then told us that no fewer than twelve French warships had been lying in wait for us as we left port and were caught up in that thick fog. Had they encountered us, we might have ended in the same misery, and then you would have seen me in Sweden before you were meant to, sacked of all our goods. But, when God wishes to help, even the fog must serve Him.

On April 4, our commander took another Frenchman, which was mostly loaded with salt. Thereafter we sailed on—sometimes on course, sometimes far off course— until after midnight on April 12, when a northwestly wind blew up with such a grim storm that the crew members on the night watch saw such constant fire fly around the tackle and the rigging that they knew not what would come of it.[12] We could not sail, but could only let the ship drift. Despite the great size of the ship, the waves broke over it, and it is a wonder that it could take so many blows. [13] We were in the gravest danger during that storm, and prayers were our staple until April 14, when the storm calmed down enough for us to unfurl our sails once again. The waves were so high—first reaching for the heavens and then, as David says, for the abyss—that we could not see the masts of the ship closest to us.

Before the fleet (by then only eleven ships) was able to regroup, we had a westerly storm on April 16 that was as bad as the one before, although—glory be to God!—it calmed down on the seventh [*sic*]. For a few days afterward, we had some favorable winds, some unfavorable ones, and some days without any wind at all, at which times the ships' captains invited one another to share meals. This lasted until April 25, when yet another hard westerly storm hit us and obliged us to lie to until the morning of the twenty-sixth, as the weather was being very fickle with us. But, on the whole trip, no night offered such pleasant sailing as the night between May 4 and 5. It was as if the ship lay in the safest harbor; we sailed along at a good clip, but so calmly and pleasantly that I cannot describe it.

The closer we came to this country, the more lightning we saw at night, just as if the heavens had opened up. For the most part, this was accompanied by swift northwesterly winds so strong that they broke masts and spars, but then were over in a short while. That is

a sure sign that one is close to this country, which is very prone to such weather. It is very dangerous weather, which causes a sailor a great deal of perplexity and prompts him to be careful about taking in the sails hastily and letting down the masts if he wants to save himself. On May 8, our large mast broke off, but—praise be to God!—the winds calmed down so much that they had a new one up by evening. On May 11, we saw green leaves floating toward us, and we began to be pleased, but we did not see land any the sooner for it. A nice wind came up on May 13, and all us passengers were entertained by the captain in his cabin, since the wind was good and land was thought to be near. But their calculations were wrong. We had the benefit of this wind until the evening of May 14, after which we had variable winds that were mostly with us, but no strong winds.

On May 17, I began having a sharp pain in my right side. I know not what caused it, unless it was the hard and salty food we had been eating for such a long time. On my name day—May 18—I had to do what I have always feared, that is, to be bled. God be praised, all went well. We had a good man as our ship's doctor, a good Swede by the name of Baltzar Embrick, who was born in Stockholm, and whose brother, Christian Embrick, is personal physician to the Prince of Sweden. This I had for a few days, but I improved each day. Just think, dear brother and sister! I became ill and had nothing but hard and salted food; the meat was entirely green from the salt, the peas [ms. unclear] for five months, and all at once the small beer ran out. What hope of recovering my health? I could not run across the square to get hold of a good cool drink, as it was almost too far.[14] But as God always put us together with good people, Capt. William Cooper—as soon as he noticed what I lacked—gave me a bottle of his beer, which I made do for three days. I did not drink myself drunk each day on that amount! I also ate a little bread, and then I got a bottle of Canary wine.[15]

In sum, God treated me in such a manner that throughout our remaining time at sea, when we had nothing to drink but old water (which I was surprised did not taste worse than it did), I never had to drink any of it. For a merchant at our table, a young and very good man named Lumbli, who had with him his wife and small child, was known on the commander's ship. There they had more than enough small beer and did not understand how our captain had provisioned himself with so little. Lumbli thus obtained a quantity of small beer, which he and I drank without the others knowing of it until at last—having smelled and looked for land and having measured the depths for such a long time—we had the joy of finding ourselves in 34 fathoms of water just past midnight on May 31. They had searched for this for a long time, but in vain, since all their calculations were wrong. This they thought was caused by our commander's hampering us at sea, sometimes by sailing hither and yon as soon as he saw some sail at a distance, sometimes by lying to, and sometimes by entertaining one another. If one is to tell the truth, Hr. Aurén, who had never been there before, was closest to the mark, for which reason they called him a great mathemetician.[16]

Think how our joy increased when at midday on that same day all of us on deck could see land, namely Smith's Island, which lay near where we were to put in. But there is never a joy so certain, that the fear of losing it does not follow. We now saw land, but as a southerly wind persisted longer than it was previously want to, it prevented us from making our entrance. That wind now kept up at our side and we feared that it might at any minute shift to the west, as had always happened before and which would be against us. We were even more fearful of a northwesterly, which often blows up here. A sailor told us that the ship on which he sailed here last year had made it inside the Cape and was about to cast anchor, when a northwesterly wind drove it out again. It had to spend five weeks at sea before it caught a wind in again. We would have been a sorry lot had such a thing happened to us. Even so, we had to go out that day (God knows with what courage, but also with faithful prayers) tacking in the southerly wind, first away from land and then toward it, until the good Lord finally helped us pass the dangerous Cape Charles on the morning of June 2 and make it up toward Cape Henry, where the wind stopped blowing altogether and we joyfully cast anchor in 7 fathoms of water. That was the first time since we had left Portsmouth, or rather since we left the Isle of Wight a little distance from Portsmouth.

On May 29, we had met a small ship they call a brigantine, which had dared sail for England all alone. This was a welcome meeting, for he was able to tell us how much further we had to go, namely, about 50 leagues or 25 Swedish miles. He lay alongside us half a day, and I sent along with him a letter for B. Gösta No. 23.[17] If it has arrived and has been saved, dear brother, please write "Off the Coast of Virginia" by the date, for my haste was great, and I forgot to write it.

Thus transpired our great trip across the wild ocean, and with such wonders of God that there was hardly a day when we did not have something to marvel at, although I am not able to touch upon everything as I should. But I hope those who hear and read this letter will reflect upon it as much as they are able and will thank the good Lord for His grace, who has allowed this trip to go so well for the salvation of so many. That at a time of such unrest we sailed so peacefully as never to see any sign of any Frenchman out on such errands![18] Nor were we too swift or too slow crossing the sea, for many—though not frequently—take a whole fifteen weeks. In view of this, the usual fare for a person who wishes to come here is 8 pounds sterling for passage in the large cabin, but 12 pounds to eat with the captain, which was our intention, but which did not work out for us. Some make it across in six to seven weeks, which I believe we, too, could have done had we not had such slow ships with us. But from here to England it seldom takes over a month, for the water falls very swiftly from here, and the winds blow more from this direction, so that the trip would be possible now, if there were peace, since there are always ships coming in and leaving again for England.

Should a poor man come to you and ask for bread, dear sister, give him drink, as well. You cannot imagine how good a cup of clear water is and what is meant in Matthew 10:42 and Luke 16:24. Even better is a good drink of small beer! Oh, you thoughtless captains and sailors who only sail in fresh water between Uppsala and Stockholm, Arboga, Köping, etc., who do not wish to take water into your mouths, but only good beer and brandy, and who do not know how to value correctly a clear drop of water! Help all who have suffered at sea; pray, too, for seafarers, especially those in great need!

In the afternoon of that same June 2, a south-southwesterly wind began to blow a bit. It was of great use to us, was very welcome, and helped us get in better. Yet, it went very slowly because of the countless reefs and banks which we had to dodge. I believe it was because of the many turns that we did not travel farther between one o'clock and nine o'clock than the New Square in Uppsala is wide, should one turn about there as much as we did. When we finally cast anchor at noontime two days later, we went close to the commander's ship, which had come in the day before, greeting and thanking him at two o'clock with a seven-gun salute for the successful convoy. He answered with five guns, and we thanked

him for that with one gun.

The place where we then found ourselves was called St. James River, close to the land and at a depth of six fathoms. As we lay there and had not been ashore since we had seen the Old World, we thought we would see how it would be to walk on the New World with feet from the Old. Everything was at the height of its bloom, and for that reason we had ourselves put ashore on June 4 at a place called Kikingtown, where we intended to wander about just as the young livestock do when they get out of the barn in the early spring. Under a linden tree, in whose trunk we carved our names and the date, we thanked God, who so graciously, etc. But it was worse after that. When we began asking about food and drink, there was nothing. You, dear brother and sister, have a pretty good idea of what I wanted to eat, but before I could have it a girl had to run a quarter of a Swedish mile for milk. In the meanwhile, we were able, with great effort, to obtain a pair of chickens, which cost as much as 10 *mark kopparmynt*, and which Jonas cooked for us in the Swedish way.[19]

(Upon which occasion, concerning Jonas, when God helps him back again and he comes to you, please honor him on my word as well as you know how to honor a faithful servant, for I cannot tell you how honest and upstanding he has been here, indeed often assiduous in doing what we did not wish him to do. And when we had something good and wanted to let him have some of it, too, he wanted none, but said he was happy just by seeing us healthy, as he had been lucky enough not to have been ill on the journey. And, where we went ashore, he immediately enjoyed people's favor and was liked; he could chew the fat with them and get us what we needed if it was available at all. Thus—I say it once too often—do as well by him as you can.)[20]

Herewith back to the topic again. For a scrap of bread, you have to pay 4½ *öre kopparmynt*.[21] The drink was water; were we to have anything else, it cost 20 *öre kopparmynt* for a pint bottle.[22] But what pleased us most was that we heard it had come from Pennsylvania, showing that what they had written in their letters to Sweden was true. Then we met a man who had come from that place to them with beer and bread, who knew a lot of good things to tell us about the Swedes, though he himself was an Englishman. But, dear brother and sister, you must not think of or judge all of Virginia by that place, for 150 ships loaded with tobacco had departed shortly before we arrived there. And we were only at the shore; it is said to

be better farther inland. I conclude what I have to say about them by saying that dear brother might well pay 3 *mark* for a stein of double beer in Sweden and grumble somewhat about it, but beg him to travel to England and Virginia, where we can pay twice as much for half the amount, and not anywhere near as good.

Afterwards, we walked about the place, curious to see walnut trees and mulberry trees bearing very nice mulberries as long and as large as half a finger. We eventually ended up in a place which was supposed to be somewhat more than the ordinary, where there were masonry chimneys on the houses. (For otherwise their houses were made of nothing but scraps of boards nailed together from the ground to the roof, standing about like so many tents. And their chimneys likewise, as they know nothing about dampers or flues. Instead, come winter they build their fire against a wall, which, to the middle of the wall, is made of stone up to a height of a fathom or more. And the fire burns night and day, for they put large logs on it.) That was therefore a wealthy man for the other people, who were also well provided for. Nor can I say otherwise, but that that man was curious in his manner when we were in his garden, where I was happy to see the fruits of old Sweden. There I ate green peas, beans, and cultivated wild strawberries, as well as mulberries and an abundance of sour apples. He himself was not at home; his title and name is Captain Wilsen.

We weighed anchor on June 10 to go from there to Maryland, on which occasion we bade the commander farewell (in forty days he was to sail to England again in order to convoy the ships that were then ready to sail with him). Things went quite slowly for some days—sometimes lifting anchor, sometimes dropping it—so that we were at Newport on June 16, at Rappahannock on the seventeenth, and past Potomac (the last cape in Virginia) and Point Lookout (the first in Maryland) to Pautuxent on the eighteenth.[23] The nineteenth up the Severn River to Annapolis, where the governor of Maryland, Francis Nicholson, lives, and whom the captain greeted with seventeen guns. We went on shore there on June 20 with our ships' clothes on, planning to return to the ship very shortly, as we thought it would cost us a great deal of money there, as elsewhere, and our purses were now light. Thus, we planned to eat on board ship for the money we had already paid, although we had already gotten our money's worth, as we had been on board for about five months.[24] But great days awaited us there!

The governor sent for us and we were seated at his table and entertained in the best possible way. He paid us such honor, remembering our king and the whole royal family with respectful toasts, that he could not have received us better had we been sent to him especially by the king of Sweden. We were there for four days while we waited to find out how far we could follow along with the ship. We ate at his table each day and then had to go for walks with him. He showed us everything that he had to do, and when we came to lovely spots, his servants were there ahead of us with a good deal of refreshing drink. We were treated so well that I finally began to think it was too much for us men of the cloth. But we accepted everything and enjoyed ourselves as long as it lasted, as we had lived on dry food long enough. He is unmarried, but appears to be a fine soldier who would see to his king's interests, as he has already shown in that country, despite the fact he has been there only a year and a half.[25]

When we learned on June 23 that the ship was to tarry there for some time, and as we yearned for the place to which we had been sent, we arranged for a boat to take us and our things up to the Swedes and sought to take our leave. The governor then showed much concern for our well-being, asking which boat was to take us and giving us letters to the controllers in that country, who are called collectors, instructing them not only to let us pass without delay, but, upon his authority, to acquire horses or whatever else we might need until we arrived safely among the Swedes. And, when we left, he followed along with us to a high place where he had built his so-called State House (a building where the council assembles), which is a grand building. During the days we were there, the governor had a large, many-colored flag made, which he had them run up while he drank a toast to the king of Sweden and then had them lower right away. Now, having entertained us for so many days and having honored us with several things at absolutely no expense to us, he topped it off by giving us 20 *riksdaler* [26] and by having two men put as many bottles (of eight different kinds of drink) as they were able to carry at one time into the boat for us. Was not this a man to meet so far away in a strange land, a man whose fame we thus should in no way keep quiet about, etc.? Nor God's praise, who creates such persons for strangers, etc.

Thus, we left the ship toward evening (when once again we experienced a good deed, as the captain never took any money in

payment for all the freight he had carried such a long distance for us; for which we have attempted to show him a sign of our gratitude, so that we Swedes might increase and not diminish our good name). We had a good wind and arrived two days later at ten o'clock at a place called Francetown,[27] which is 60 to 70 English miles—perhaps 8 to 10 Swedish miles—from Annapolis. Two or three of our Swedes lived just over an English mile from there on the outskirts of the lower congregation, about three Swedish miles from the church. There we landed with joy, took up all of our things, looked them over and saw—praise be to God!—that those goods, which had been under way for such a long time (nearly a whole year), and which we had not seen since we left Stockholm, were not damaged in the least.

But then there was a procession in the country before much more than a day had passed. Not only had news of our arrival at that place (Sakiko, way up the Elk River) spread, but many came to us some 8 to 10 Swedish miles with horses, all the better to take us up among them, some riding ahead of us, some with us, and some behind us. The joy of the Galatians had risen among them, and several declared with their tears that they could not believe that we had arrived. We rode to the home of the man who is now my host until the parsonage is completed, a man named Lucas Stiddom.

On June 28 we rode up to Philadelphia (a pretty little town that was mostly developed by those weeds, the Quakers) to call on Vice Governor William Markham, which we did on June 29. He was joyed by our arrival, and all the more so as he saw what secure passports we were given for our passage here.[28] A captain by the name of Jacob Trent has personally seen these passports and can tell about them; he arrived here with a ship from Gothenburg at the same time we arrived. Hr. Aurén had talked with him and visited him onboard ship in Gothenburg just before he left for England, but Aurén does not know how he came to sail hither, although he doubtless did so on an English commission. Otherwise, Trent is a Scotsman, but he speaks Swedish well and is an honest Swede, serves the king of Sweden, and has several Swedes onboard, including one by the name of Linmeijer, who is said to be well known and who has remained in this country. We sent our first letters, such as mine of XI: 24, back with him.[29]

On June 30, we brought together the upper congregation—the one closest to Philadelphia that is called Wicacoa Congregation after the place where the church stands—to hear about our

journey, with the reading aloud first of the copy of their own letter to Sweden and then that from the king etc. On July 2, we did the same at the lower congregation, which is called Crane Hook Congregation after the name of the place where the church stands,[30] and which I, an unworthy shepherd, now have in my charge. I assumed that position on June 11, speaking about the righteousness of the Pharisees. This is a beautiful country. I wish you were here or lived in such a land in Sweden; beautiful and pleasant forests, very rich in water, bearing everything in abundance (though not even this land is one where one can cut gold with tallow knives). The only thing it lacks is people to cultivate it. There are beautiful gardens with all kinds of fruits, so that, it must be mentioned, the swine go about there and eat the finest fruit a human could wish to eat and that many in Sweden would consider a treasure to put on the table. The people here make from the various kinds of apples a lovely drink they call "cider," which keeps all year. When I drink it I cannot tell it apart from a Spanish wine, another kind of a must wine, both in terms of taste and color. They also make a drink from a fruit they call "peaches," but mostly they distill it. They have as good grains—rye, barley, and wheat—and bake as good bread as anyone could ever ask for. They have large and fat livestock, and deer, hares, wild turkeys, hazel grouse, ducks, etc., are abundant. So they live very well without any burdensome taxes; indeed, they need not take on any difficult work except that which they wish to.

The people are very productive, having eight, ten, or twelve children, and they usually live to see their grandchildren. They call themselves peasants, but they dress like honorable burghers, with their women usually wearing cloaks and dressing gowns. Their headdress is a white hat with either a white or a black [illegible] on it. Praise be to God, there is no [illegible]. Otherwise, although they remain among the English, there are peasants who have sailed here who are not afraid to give their ministers 6, 8, or 10 *riksdaler* in annual salary. I, meanwhile, hope to receive about 100 pounds sterling in cash in annual salary (which is at least 400 *riksdaler* in Swedish money) in addition to the parsonage and its lands when it is ready and put in proper order.[31]

They have not yet succeeded in accomplishing that which they promised in their letter to Sweden in regards to building churches and parsonages for us, since they have not been able to agree on new sites for the churches. The members of the congregations live

rather inconveniently in that respect, but, through the grace of God, we have now succeeded in getting them to agree to build them of stone. The one in this lower congregation is to be built at a place called Christina. The congregation is otherwise in great disarray, since their most recent minister was unable to pay much attention to it in view of his advanced age and his illness. His name was Mag. Jacob Fabritius, and he died at the time we were recruited for this ministry.[32] In comparison with a congregation in Sweden, then, we have a great deal of work ahead of us in order, through God's grace and according to our ability, to live up to our oath and (as we ourselves wish to do) to make the congregation so much like one in Sweden that he who succeeds us will find a well provided table, i.e., a church building and parsonage, good manners and order, the youth being examined in the catechism, etc.

Thus, even if for no other reason, this effort will force us to seek a transfer, which I hope will be easy to get (let God provide that it is in His Majesty's lifetime) when we ask for it, as with hand and mouth, as well as in writing, the cathedral chapter in Uppsala has graciously assured us.[33] Otherwise, who knows how it will go and what sort of promotion we might have? If Professor Swedberg is well, I do not doubt his support as long as you, my dear brother and sister, see to it that you have his favor, and if God blesses you, pay your respects to him once in awhile, and especially to his children, always letting me know, among other things, how they are. For I am, and will be, obliged to that family, etc.[34]

Whenever Mr. Aurén returns to Sweden, I will try to send you, dear brother and sister, whatever I can get hold of that will be rare in Sweden. I close now, completely tired out from writing, thanking God for all the grace he has granted me, etc. And the closer to the end I come, the less happy I am, for being able to sit here writing to you is dearer to me than when I was often able to run across the square to you. The distance is too great now, but (if it be God's will) what joy it will be to come to Sweden and find you well! Meanwhile, I hope that when you get my first letter about our successful trip you will, if things are not too bad, drink to our health with one of my or your friends, and be assured that we will do the same upon receiving your first letter.

And with that, farewell! God be your blessing. Bring greetings to my dear uncle, my dear aunt, Uncle Olaus, Uncle Gading, Aunt Joh. Chrina No. 6, Sister Vend, Burgomaster Lohoman with his

dearest, Brother Gerdh and Syster Lohoman, Brother Abook, Js. Lohom of Runtby, etc. Slåterman is never forgotten, etc. Greetings to all of them and to any others there may be, such as Mr. Pontin, Upstadt, etc. [35]

Given to the Lord, I remain until death, my dear brother and sister, a faithful brother. Christina Kihl, in Pennsylvania and the Delaware River, March 22, 1698.

P.S. Dear sister, could you make two pouches (*wackade pungar*)[36] one for each of the two churches, and send them over with the Bibles and hymnals we hope His Majesty will send. How welcome they would be! Or put them in a letter to be sent by ship over to England. You can find out through Cristrom if the king is going to send anything. The two parts of *Atlantica* hope to see their third brother.[37] And how good it would have been had I taken bedclothes with me, as well as linen clothes! The more I had taken, the better it would be, for although my salary promises to grow to a considerable sum, the prices here are proportionally high when it comes to what one needs.

Just think, 10 to 12 *daler* for a pair of shoes; not under 5 to 6 *riksdaler* for a shirt of the type of weave mine has; 14 to 16 *riksdaler* for a cow; and yet there is no [illegible] to be found, ten times more expensive than in Sweden. Yet no one is suffering because of this. All are in good health now, but I have not yet bought anything. Please send me something made by your hand, even if only a nightcap or something similar. Whatever I have in the way of linens, nothing that touches me is younger than what you made for me. Farewell, do not forget to tell my siblings and other relatives and good friends about our trip, for to write to each one in as much detail over such a distance is not possible.

We were very neglectful for not having brought any measures with us from Sweden. Dear brother and sister, please send me a *krönt fierding* or *kappa*,[38] an *aln stop* or *halfstop*,[39] etc. Otherwise, I would order two larger and two smaller dampers or flues, as well as drawing paper and good writing paper, for no good paper makes it over here. But I do not know on what bill of exchange that could be done; I am, however, planning to send with Mr. Aurén—perhaps to you—a bill of exchange for 100 *riksdaler*.

It was clever of me, dear sister, not to say anything against your throwing the muff into the trunk. No one in Sweden would believe the winter we had here from 8 days before Christmas until early March, for we have lacked neither snow nor cold. But we have

missed a two-seated Swedish sleigh and harness, for I have often wished for one and had I been able to get one I would never have ridden a horse in the fence-deep snow or in the ice cold winter, as the inhabitants here are used to doing, since they have not yet learned to use such a vehicle. But if we have more such winters, they will learn. In the meanwhile, I have set myself to order from you and beg that you send over the following things, dear brother:

1. A well-built and painted two-seated sleigh with reinforced runners; the tongues for the sleigh are clumsy to send, but I ask only that you send the iron that belongs to them and the studs that are to sit on the ends.

2. A harness with all that belongs to it, even the small bells, but see to it that they do not clatter where they are packed. Everything is to be prepared there in Sweden as it should be, including another harness like that of bone, etc. I would gladly have a cushion for the sleigh, as well, but there are plenty of bearskins here, and I am not sure that I would ever use it.

3. A Swedish harness with a bridle and all that goes with it, all covered with *cartwan*.[40]

4. A woman's saddle, not for a wife,[41] but to show people how comfortably our women ride in Sweden, since no one here knows anything at all about these three things except for what we have told them.

5. Ten to twelve dampers or flues, some larger and some smaller.

Please note, dear brother and sister, how I wish you to send these things, especially since the sleigh may be damaged. Dear brother, please have a crate just large enough for the sleigh made from some planks, then pack all the other things securely in the sleigh and nail the crate shut. Then either carve my name and the name of this place (Pennsylvania in the West Indies) on it, or write them on the crate in tar or candleblack. For such large and unwieldy items (even larger and more unwieldy ones) are often carried by ships, and they are delivered to the skipper with letters stating that they contain such and such things. Perhaps you will hear that some Swedish ship is sailing here. The peace concluded between France and England means that the king of Sweden may sail freely to all the lands belonging to these two kingdoms, and that by way of thanks, because he, next to God, has promoted this peace, and our king bears a great name because of it.[42] Fill the trunk of the sleigh with axes and other small iron tools, locks, and the like, for such things are highly prized here. An axe costs 14 to 15 *riksdaler kopparmynt*, etc.

Take all that this costs from the bill of exchange when it arrives and send a list of everything that you send over here. You may, dear brother, use the rest of the money as you wish, just so long as the amount is available to me when we see how God has arranged things. I long to have a barrel of fine Baltic herring and other herring sent here, if you would go to so much trouble. For here there is no Baltic herring, but herrings half as large as I am.

NOTES

This letter, the letter from the Rev. Anders Sandel to be published in a subsequent issue of *The Swedish-American Historical Quarterly*, and incomplete and anonymous translations of the two letters were brought to the attention of the editor of the *Quarterly*, Prof. H. Arnold Barton, by Prof. Leif Sjöberg of the State University of New York at Stoney Brook. Prof. Barton asked that I edit the translations and provide introductions to the letters, but upon reading the original letters I found it necessary to provide new translations. The copy of this letter that has survived is housed in Handel och Sjöfart, vol. 197, Nya Sverige III, at Riksarkivet (the Swedish National Archives) in Stockholm. As it is unsigned, as samples of Björck's handwriting have not been checked, and as Björck's letters were widely copied and spread in Sweden, it is not clear whether this letter is the original; for the copying of Björck's letters, see Nils Jacobsson, *Svenska öden vid Delaware 1638-1831* (Stockholm: Svenska kyrkans diakonistyrelses bokförlag, 1938), 197.

[1] See Israel Acrelius, *History of New Sweden; or, the Settlements on the River Delaware*, translated from the Swedish and with an introduction and notes by William M. Reynolds (Philadelphia: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1874), 198, 272-73. For a fascinating look into Björck's work at Christina Church, see *The Records of Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church, Wilmington, Del., from 1697 to 1773*, trans. by Horace Burr, Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware, 9, (Wilmington: Historical Society of Delaware, 1890), 11-169.Cf. Evert A. Larsson, "Pastor Eric Björck and the Revival of Swedish Religious Life in the Delaware Valley," *Swedish-American Historical Quarterly*, 36 (1985), 83-92.

[2] A translation of Björck's letter to Dr. Israel Kolmodin of October 29, 1697, is printed in Jehu Curtis Clay, *Annals of the Swedes on the Delaware*, 4th ed. (Chicago: John Ericsson Memorial Committee, 1938), 81-88, as is a letter from Rev. Rudman to Prof. Jacob Arrhenius of October 20, 1697 (88-90). Furthermore, the diary kept by Rev. Rudman on the journey from Sweden to Virginia has been published in Swedish and in English translation; see Luther Anderson, "Diary of Rev. Andrew Rudman, July 25, 1696-June 14, 1697: Transcribed, Translated and Edited From the Original Manuscript," *German American Annals*, vol. 4 (1906), 282-312, 315-34, 355-76, and vol. 5 (1907), 9-18.

[3] Acrelius, 176-81.

[4] For a translation of Thelin's letter, see *ibid.*, 182-85.

[5] A translation of this letter and the list accompanying it is printed in *ibid.*, 86-93. For Svedberg's influence, see below, note 29.

[6] For the king's letter, see Acrelius, 196-97. It should be noted that the date of this letter is cited in one translation (probably mistakenly) as February 18, 1695; see *The Records of Holy Trinity*, 11. In this connection, it is appropriate to mention that, on April 17, 1696, Charles XI authorized the printing at royal expense of Johan Campanius, *Lutheri Catechismus översatt på American Virginske språket*. Completed in 1656, but never before published, this unique work was now printed (Stockholm, 1696) for use among the Indians, and 500 copies of it were sent out with the mission. See Isak Collijn, *The Swedish-Indian Catechism: Some Notes* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1937), 12-16; for the number of copies sent with the mission, see Acrelius, 199.

[7] Concerning the plans for Aurén's mission, see ibid., 198. For the dating of Björck's ordination, see Jacobsson, 184; for that of the archbishop's commission for Rudman and Björck, see *The Records of Holy Trinity*, 12. The dating of the audience is based on the date of the king's mandate of July 15, 1696, a translation of which is printed in Clay, 75-76.

[8] For a convenient list of the Swedish clergymen who served the congregations at Wicacoa, at Christina, and later at Racoon and Penn's Neck, see ibid., 204-08.

[9] The Christina Congregation, too, joined the Episcopal Church (1831). The friendship and affinity between the ministers of the Church of Sweden and the Church of England (later Episcopal Church) on the Delaware should be seen in the light of the support for a merger of the two national churches shown in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries by some leading Swedish and English churchmen (including Dr. Jesper Svedberg); see Jacobsson, 226-29.

[10] We know from the Christina Congregation records kept by Björck that the sister's name was Magdalena Björck; see *The Records of Holy Trinity*, 75 and note 31 below. It is possible that the letter was addressed to Magdalena and her husband (i.e., Björck's brother-in-law), rather than to Magdalena and a brother; see note 17.

[11] The ships were sailing in convoy in view of the fact that England and France were currently at war with one another.

[12] This is clearly a reference to St. Elmo's fire.

[13] The ship was the *Jeffries*, with Captain William Cooper in command; see Clay, 78. According to Rudman's diary, the ship carried 34 guns and some 50 passengers, Anderson, 306, 308.

[14] The term Björck used for the drink was *kahlsskåhl*, which might refer to *kallskål*. The latter was a cool summer soup or drink made of sugar, cold water, lemon, and either French wine or small beer.

[15] That is, wine from the Canary Islands.

[16] Rev. Jonas Aurén was to have returned to Sweden after making his observations in America, but he remained in the New World, became a Sabbatarian, married a Swedish-American woman, served as pastor to the Swedes of Racoon Church in New Jersey, and died there on February 17, 1713. See Acrelius, 319-21.

[17] From Rev. Rudman's diary of the trip, we know that Björck sent numbered letters to his brother-in-law, Postmaster Gustaf Rudbeck (the husband of his sister, Magdalena); see Anderson, esp. 310. That Björck refers to him here as "B: Gösta" suggests "Broder Gösta," or "Brother Gösta," which in turn suggests that this letter was addressed to Gustaf Rudbeck and his wife, Magdalena Björck Rudbeck.

[18] This is another reference to French privateers.

[19] Literally, "marks in copper mint." Sweden had silver and copper coins in the seventeenth century; 1 *riksdaler* 4 *mark* 32 *öre*.

[20] Jonas Bjurström joined the Rudman, Björck, and Aurén party in London as their attendant. He remained in Pennsylvania at least until May 17, 1698, on which date he witnessed the document confirming the choice of Wicacoa as the site of the new church to be built for the so-called "upper congregation" on the Delaware. See Acrelius, 201, and Clay, 96, respectively.

[21] See note 19.

[22] I have used "pint" as a translation for *halfstop*. This measure varied over the course of the centuries, but was set at 0.65 liters when it was abolished in the 1870s.

[23] The spellings used by Björck were "Newfort," "Raphanoch," "Patmeck," "Lookout," and "Potunen."

[24] Björck and the rest of the party went onboard the *Jeffries* on February 4, although they did not leave Portsmouth until March 22; see Anderson, 369.

[25] In a letter written shortly after the completion of the churches at Christina (1698) and Wicacoa (1700), Björck referred to Governor Nicholson as "our great patron" and noted that both he and the Governor Blackstone of Virginia had paid special visits to the two Swedish churches. See Clay, 101.

[26] See note 19.

[27] In the translation of Björck's letter to Dr. Israel Kolmodin of October 29, 1697, that appears in Clay's book, this place is referred to as "Transtown"; see Clay, 83.

[28] These passports had been signed personally by King William III of England.

[29] The text is unclear; this might be "X" rather than "XI." It should be recalled that the letter Björck sent to his brother-in-law with the brigantine the *Jeffries* encountered on May 29 was No. 26.

[30] Björck used the name "Tranhuk" (Tranhook), which was what the Swedes called Crane Hook. See Jeanette Eckman, *Crane Hook on the Delaware* (Newark, Del.: Institute of Delaware History and Culture, 1958).

[31] Björck appears to have been too optimistic. He would complain in 1706 that "I live worse than a common laborer, for a good man servant gets with us about 20 pounds, and some extras and has his board, lodging, washing, and drink free, while I even if I should get all the dues get little over 30 pounds, and with house and all not 40 pounds, and I must therewith clothe myself and procure food and be at much expense besides, so that I am more than 20 pounds worse than nothing every year that I remain here." See *The Records of Holy Trinity*, 115.

[32] "Mag." is an abbreviation for the title "Magister," which was used by university-trained clergymen. Jacob Fabritius was from New York and served the two Swedish congregations (Wicacoa from 1677, Crane Hook from 1688) until his death in 1693.

[33] The term "by hand and mouth" apparently refers to an oral commitment sealed by a handshake on the occasion of the audience Björck, Rudman, and Aurén had with King Charles XI. For this audience, see Acrelius, 199; for the written commitment, see the translation of Charles XI's letter of February 22, 1696, to Archbishop Olof Svebilius in Clay, 73-74.

[34] This is a reference to Professor Jesper Swedberg (1653-1735), the Rev. Björck's patron and one of the most important supporters of the Swedish mission to the Delaware. See Jacobsson, 183-90, who points out that, after he had become bishop of Skara, Svedberg once even referred to himself as "bishop of America" (*ibid.*, 186).

[35] The names in this paragraph have been left as they appear in Björck's letter; no attempt has been made to identify these individuals.

[36] That *wackade pungar* refers to the pouches used for taking up the collection in Swedish churches is confirmed by *The Records of Holy Trinity*, 75, in which Rev. Björck recorded that, on December 7, 1699, he received "two purses or sacks for our Church, about which I had written to my sister Magdalena Biork [*sic*] some time before ..."

[37] This is clearly a reference to Olof Rudbeck the Elder's famous *Atlantica sive Manheim*, part three of which was printed in 1698 (part one had appeared in 1679,

part two in 1689). Olof Rudbeck the Elder was the father of Björck's brother-in-law, Gustaf Rudbeck, and was a professor at the University of Uppsala. Gustaf Rudbeck and Magdalena Björck Rudbeck also lived in Uppsala.

[38] These terms indicate measures used for dry goods; a *krönt fierding* was a quarter of a *skålpund*, with a *skålpund* weighing about 425 grams; a *kappa* held about 4.6 liters.

[39] The terms *stop* and *halfstop* were measures for liquids, with the stop containing 1.3 liters when it went out of use in the 1870s, and with the *halfstop* containing half as much. An *aln* was a measure of length corresponding to the English "ell." When the metric system was introduced to Sweden, one *aln* equaled 0.59 meters. The combination *aln stop* found in this letter is very unclear.

[40] Was Rev. Björck's *cartwan* actually *kattun*, a kind of cotton cloth? The term remains obscure.

[41] This aside plays upon the fact that Björck was a bachelor at this point.

[42] Charles XI of Sweden had mediated the Peace of Ryswick of September 1697, which ended the War of the League of Augsburg between France and its enemies, including England.

EARLY HISTORY OF CHISAGO LAKE REEXAMINED

EMEROY JOHNSON

Chisago Lake in Chisago county, Minnesota, is the place where about a dozen Swedish immigrants settled in 1851. They had emigrated from Sweden in 1850 and come to the vicinity of Moline, Illinois, in the fall and spent their first winter in the United States there. They set out for Minnesota Territory in response to a communication from Erik Ulrik Norberg, a Swede who had been in America since 1842 and who had gone to investigate the land in Minnesota. Several more Swedish immigrants came to Chisago Lake that summer and fall, and some Swedes came to the area around Scandia at about the same time. This was the beginning of a movement that eventually brought some 100,000 Swedes to Minnesota.

The first Swedish minister to visit the new colony, in 1852, was the Reverend Gustaf Unonius, pastor of the St. Ansgarius Episcopal Church in Chicago. Norberg and Unonius have been mentioned in several historical books and articles that tell of the origins of the Chisago Lake community. In general, the main facts are well known and substantiated. However, Ulf Beijbom, director of the Emigrant Institute in Växjö, has found interesting material in the Unonius archives in Uppsala, which sheds new light on the story, as recounted in an article published in 1983.

Beijbom has discovered that Norberg was personally acquainted with Unonius and that they had some correspondence with each other during the time that Norberg was in Minnesota. This significant fact had been unknown to the authors who have previously written about the origins of the Chisago Lake community.[1]

Gustaf Unonius, a graduate of Uppsala University, emigrated to the United States in 1841, and lived as a pioneer in the woods at Pine Lake, Wisconsin, some miles west of Milwaukee. He met some Episcopal clergymen and became convinced that that church was the "true representative" of the Church of Sweden, since it had a hierarchical form of organization like the Swedish Church. He was ordained by the Episcopal bishop and organized the

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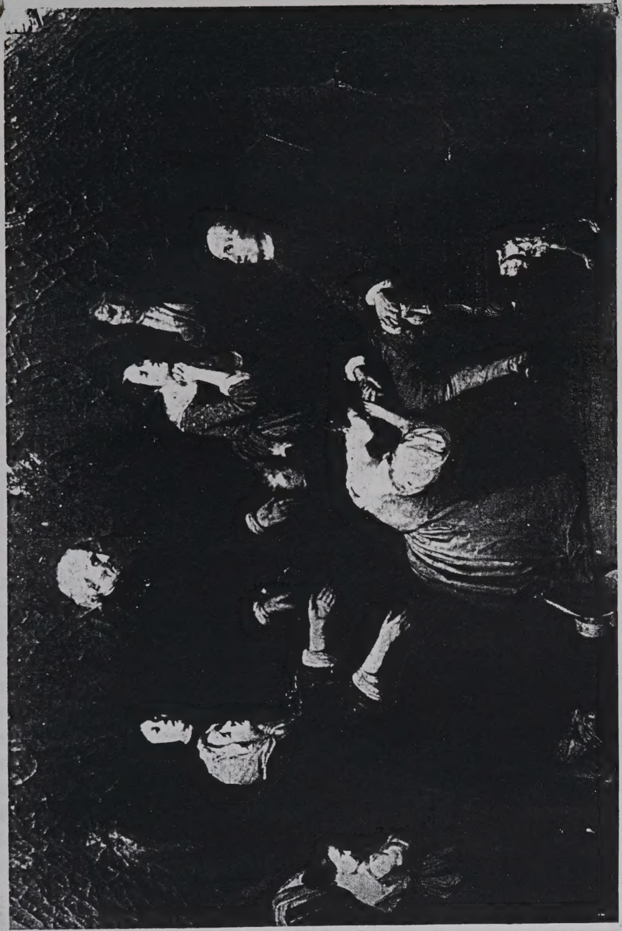

Death of Benjamin Franklin, with Nicholas Collin present (tall figure in center), see p. 199 below.

OF

Nicholas Collin

1746-1831

Inter-Library Loan

The Journal translated from the original Swedish manuscript

North Park Cons. Library

By

AMANDUS JOHNSON

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
FRANK H. STEWART

Philadelphia
The New Jersey Society of Pennsylvania
1936

He seemed to feel that it was his patriotic duty to serve Sweden in various ways, as a recompense for the money paid to him by the Swedish Treasury, since the Swedish language was dead and the mission was of no value to Sweden. With it all, however, he looked after the churches well for he tells us that he was much occupied with the duties of his charge and duties connected with his office. But his enemies found an opportunity to criticize; he was paying too much attention to secular things, they said.[37]

The Rector was popular with all factions the first few years. But there soon came a change. In a letter of March, 1788, Collin says: "I shall, myself, see to it how they manage the affairs [of the church]." The business matters of the congregation were laxly administered when Collin took charge of the parish, as has been intimated above. John Stillé, Churchwarden and Treasurer, did not exert undue zeal in collecting the ground rent money. Collin took a strong stand on the subject and induced the Treasurer to institute legal action against delinquent tenants. This apparently caused bad feelings. Stillé resented the Rector's interference (perhaps also he was on friendly terms with some of the delinquents), and the tenants naturally were incensed by the efforts of the Rector to collect dues, which they were not in the habit of paying promptly. It is likely that they had influential friends on the vestry and among the members, while Stillé and, especially Reynold Keen, the Wardens, were themselves in arrears on their ground rent for several years. Thus, opposition developed to the Rector.

The first move was to reduce the Rector's salary and the subject was brought up at a vestry meeting in October, 1789. The opposition had developed considerable strength, for it was decided that the salary of the Rector should be the same as before, until the first Monday in May (a reduction before that date being illegal), but

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[37] *Minutes,* 154 ff.

then the vestry was to take into consideration whether they should reduce the Rector's salary to one hundred and fifty pounds a year. At the vestry meeting of May 3, 1790, it was voted that the Rector's salary should be reduced to one hundred and fifty pounds for the ensuing year, "but he was still to enjoy the parsonage house, the gardens, etc., as heretofore."

At the annual meeting of the church members to elect vestrymen, the "Rector's Party," as the friends of Collin were called, rallied their forces and brought up the question of restoring the salary to its former amount. The discussion was undoubtedly lively and perhaps bitter, although the *Minutes* give no indication of it. A compromise was reached and the salary was fixed at one hundred and seventy-five pounds a year, the motion for this sum "being passed in the affirmative by an unanimous vote." In order to compensate in some measure for the reduction, the Rector was presented with "three tons of good hay annually."[38]

John Stillé and Reynold Keen, the Wardens of Gloria Dei, seemed to have been the leaders of the opposition; but the open and active part in it was apparently taken by George Ord and Paul Beck. Both Stillé and Keen were renamed wardens in 1790, 1791 and 1792, the former by the Vestry, the latter by the Rector, and some degree of harmony seems to have been maintained, but it soon came to an open break.

The opposition was routed but not defeated. By 1792, the opponents to the Rector became even more determined,—his total dismissal was their aim. Collin seemed to feel that they might succeed, for in one of

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[38] For the above see *Minutes,* p. 140 ff.

Some years three tons of hay compensated the Rector for more than the reduction in his salary. At times the vestry paid as much as $70.50 for the hay, amounting to about £ 27. In other years the hay was bought for $57.37½. *Minutes* (December 13, 1819), p. 274; (November 22, 1820), p. 280.

The Reverend Mr. Göranson's salary was similarly reduced from 200 to £ 150 in 1773.

his letters written during the spring of this year, he states that he expected to be free from his religious duties in a year and a half. It must have grieved the Rector sorely, after having placed such confidence in Keen, to find that he was a bitter enemy.

The vestry meeting of May 6th was undoubtedly stormy, but forty persons were chosen as usual for candidates of vestrymen, "which," say the *Minutes,* "with the present Vestry included makes the number Sixty agreeable to the Charter."

At the annual election the following Monday (May 13), "only a small number were present," and but six of the twenty vestrymen chosen appeared for the meeting after the election, Andrew Cox, George Sheed, Samuel Holstein, Aaron Morton, Matthias Holstein and Peter Rambo. These with the Rector adjourned with the understanding that a full vestry should be called at the first opportunity.

In the meantime a protest was drawn up, dated May 20, 1793, and signed by John Stillé, Reynold Keen,
1793 Paul Beck, Jr., and George Ord, stating that "several persons were introduced by the Rector's party to vote and did actually vote" who were not members of the church and who had been engaged privately to influence the election for the sake of selecting such vestrymen as would be agreeable to their plans. The protest also accused the Rector in connection with persons not legally appointed wardens of spending money for alterations and repairs of the parsonage house through arbitrary powers and in an illegal manner. They likewise asserted that through such means "the Rector's Party" were enabled to keep "at the head of the churches for life a Rector whose abilities as a preacher and idiom of the English language are insufficient to render him tolerably useful to the congregation, and parochial duties are too often interrupted by 'political study and composition.' "[39]

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[39] *Minutes,* p. 145 ff.; Collin to Thunberg, April 28, 1792. *Photost. Copy,* Museum.

"On the second Wednesday in June, next following,[40] the Vestry met:" but only ten vestrymen were present besides Collin. "The meeting being small notwithstanding sufficient notice, it was decided to adjourn until the hay and grain harvest should be finished in the country."

Finally a meeting was called for July 31, 1793, at 1793
which thirteen vestrymen, besides Rev. Collin, were present. "The Vestry," say the *Minutes,* "proceeded to the election of Church Wardens and the following persons were accordingly chosen, viz: For Wicaco, Mr. Samuel Wheeler and George Sheed."[41]

The protest of May 20th was considered at this session (July 31, 1793) and found, in the opinion of the Vestry, not to contain charges sufficiently specific to invalidate or set aside the election. At later elections, Rev. Collin produced the Book of Records which contained the list of the original donors "in order to ascertain the rights of voters, if any doubtful qualifications should appear," and from now on the elections passed without difficulty.[42]

When the services of Rev. Joseph Clarkson, Collin's 1792
first assistant, came to an end on October 31, 1792, the work in the three churches had increased to such an extent that two assistants were thought necessary. Accordingly two committees were appointed to confer with the candidates for the positions, Rev. Slaytor Clay and Rev. Joseph Turner, "to supply the congregations and help Dr. Collin." The two agreed to officiate as assistant pastors in the parishes, although they considered the compensation offered them inadequate, and no regular contracts were made. Rev. Joseph Turner began his services on November 1, 1792, really taking the place of Rev. Clarkson, and he was given a salary of sixty pounds a year. Rev. Slaytor Clay began his work on January 1, 1793,
at a salary of forty pounds a year. It seems that they 1793
gave only part time to the churches, however.

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[40] June 12, 1793.
[41] *Minutes,* p. 154 ff.
[42] *Minutes,* p. 169.

dull, but grating to the ears; not only sorrowful to feeling members, but surprising to persons of other denominations." The Rector seems to have made several efforts to have the damaged bell replaced by a new one, but nothing came of it.[53]

1802

In May, 1802, a bequest of thirty dollars was made "to the church wardens and vestrymen of the Swedish congregation at Wicaco toward the purchase of a bell for that church." But no one else seemed to have been willing to sacrifice for the laudable object and the old bell continued to issue forth its "dull and grating sounds."[54]

1806

At a meeting on February 4, 1806, however, the economical committee took up the matter of procuring a bell "and had a long conversation as preparatory of some definite measure." A week later the committee met again, "when the Rector laid before them a form of subscription of this content: 'We, the subscribers, being descendants from those ancient Swedes who were members of the Swedish Lutheran Evangelical Church in Southwark of Philadelphia, stiled Gloria Dei, and willing to support the worship of Almighty God in the same, feel a sacred obligation to supply by chearfull aid any wants for which its revenues are not competent; and consider the speedy procuring of a new bell highly necessary in lieu of the old one, which for twenty years past has been cracked.' "

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known that they would have the bell even though they would have to go after a company to fetch it. Their receipt is as follows:

> 'Received from Mr. Andrew Johnson [Göranson] one small bell, being the property of the Vestry of the Swedish Church, by order of the Executive Council of the State of Pennsylvania to Colonel Benjamin Flower to have the bells of the city deposited in some safe place.
>
> David Pancoast, Capt. Southwark.
>
> Sept. 21st, 1777.' "

Domk. arkiv., F. VII, 2, *Photo Copy*, Museum. *Prostboken, pp.* 275-276.

[53] *Minutes*, p. 217 ff.

[54] The donor was Mary Marshall, a member of the church. *Minutes*, p. 198.

"This form," say the *Minutes*, "was approved after some discussion, as it was presumed that the terms used were by no means intemporate, as it was notorious through a great part of Southwark that many nicknames not fit for recording had been given to the bell, and that a new one might have been procured many years ago, if a sufficient number of those whom it concerned had volunteered their aid. It was then resolved that Dr. Collin, Samuel Wheeler, Joseph Huddell, Jr., and William J. Keen should have respective copies of this list and collect with all practicable speed. The Committee viewed several second hand bell[s], particularly one imported from St. Domingo, which, though cheap, and had a good sound, it was not thought advisable to purchase, as it was not certain but that it might have been unjustly obtained by the sellers of that place, during the dreadful Civil Wars in that island.

"The Committee having previously informed themselves of the industry and skill of Mr. George Hedderly, Bellfounder of this City, made the following contract with him on the 19th of March, 1806:

" 'It is agreed by these presents between the Rector and Vestry of the Swedish Church and George Hedderly that he will cast a bell of three hundred weight fit for church service in all respects to the best of his knowledge and insure the same for its use for twelve months, if the sound and other qualities be agreeable, but in other case to keep it without any obligation for them to take it; that he on this condition shall receive from them at the rate of fifty cents a pound weight in a few days after the bell has been hung and tryed; he being charged with the hanging of it, and paid separately for that service; that he will also take the old bell in part payment at the rate of twenty cents a pound and melt the same into the body of the said new bell.' "[55]

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[55] The contract was signed at Philadelphia (March 19, 1806) by "George Hedderly, Nicholas Collin, George Sheed, John Vactor, William J. Keen and Joseph Huddell, Jr." *Minutes*, p. 217.

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The steeple also was in a dilapidated condition. In the *Minutes* we read: "The Committee was equally solicitous for a complete and speedy repair of the steeple. That part of the frame which was exposed to the heavy and lasting Easterly Winds and rains usual in this climate, had become so decayed that a fall of the whole steeple must soon have happened. They engaged Mr. James Gilliand to undertake the carpenter work that should be necessary and procured materials of the best kind."

1806

"The bell was hung on the last day of May, 1806, and on the next day being Sunday, the 1st of June, was rung for Divine Service."

"The carpenter's work, painting, etc., were finished within two months. The bell and the improved state of the steeple has given great satisfaction not only to the congregation but also to the whole neighborhood. Although its weight is no more than three hundred and fifteen pounds, including the weight of the clapper, the sound is solemn and audible to a considerable distance. The old bell weighed eighty-one pounds, had 1643 engraved on it and came from Sweden, which [facts] and its making a part of the new one [are] inscribed thereon; it has besides the time and place of the casting [and] the name of the founder, these inscriptions: Gloria Deo—in Excellsis—I to the Church the living call and to the grave do summon all."[56]

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[56] *Minutes*, p. 217 ff. In the *Minutes* we read:

"The whole amount of the founder's bill, including the wheel, brazer, rope, hanging, etc. was, $184.34. The repairs to the steeple can not as yet be ascertained but will probably by the next meeting of the vestry. The collections have exceeded the committee's most sanguine expectations. At a meeting held on the 20th of June, 1806, Nicholas Collin paid $21.50 and W. J. Keen $40. to Samuel Wheeler, which he then paid to the bell founder, who was present. Since which time Nicholas Collin has paid $53. and W. J. Keen $10; Samuel Wheeler has received the $30. bequeathed by Mrs. Marshall, and sundry small sums including his inscription, which amounted to $17. making a total of $221.50. Joseph Huddell has also collected $45. which he had by Wheeler's consent paid to the carpenter and advanced money of his own. The committee hoped that $30. more may be collected and

Several features of the old charter (as amended in 1787) were impractical and suggestions for revision were made from time to time. On May 12, 1806, new By-Laws were adopted, creating two additional classes of voters, first descendants, who had served in the vestry, and secondly, descendants, who shall six months preceding any election, have entered their names, with the names and number of their families in the Church Book at Wicaco or either of the two other churches.[57]

There was no Yellow Fever in the city during 1807, but a kind of influenza raged throughout the continent, affecting half of the entire population, but only a small percentage died of those afflicted. It appears that Collin was free from it, but illness increased his work and made his pastoral duties very much more arduous than usual.

As we have seen, native Swedes joined the Gloria Dei Church from time to time. About 1800 "these native Swedes that settled here and temporary residents" attending the church, were so numerous that Collin conducted regular Swedish services for them. Some of these emigrants certainly brought Swedish church books with them from their native land, but Collin found it necessary to import "Swedish Common Prayer Books" on at least two occasions.[58]

In the beginning the collections taken at the two services were pooled and used for a common purpose. In

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Nicholas Collin would take on himself that concern for a limited time." *Minutes*, p. 218.

See Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, I., 366. In the Gloria Dei Archives is a loose sheet, in Collin's hand, which contains substantially the same account about the bell as the above, but many of the words are greatly abbreviated, making it difficult to read the paper. This must have been the basis for the account in the minutes and the copyist could not always make out Collin's writing.

[57] *Minutes*, p. 332.

[58] "For 4 Swedish common prayer books $1.33, necessary in the Swedish Service."

"Account from May 1st, 1805, to May 1st, 1806."

"Four new Swedish common prayer books imported from Sweden. $2.00." Account of "Collin with the Swedish Corporation, May 1st, 1812, to May 1st, 1813,"—Archives of Gloria Dei Church.

The Swedish services were advertised in the daily papers. *Accounts*, 1805-1806, Gloria Dei Archives.

and gave him more leisure for his own work; but he did not relax his own efforts and the three churches were well served. He did not, as he might have, require his assistants to do as much of his own work as possible, and he was not a preacher who considered his duty performed when he had delivered his sermon and finished his services on Sunday. Even in his old age he labored incessantly for the welfare of his parishoners. Besides conducting regular services once or twice a Sunday he continued through his long life to perform the most varied parochial duties. He preached in the homes of the parishioners to cheer the old and decrepit. "Last Sunday [Jan. 15, 1808]," he says, "I performed Divine services at the house of Mr. Smith on Tinicum, on account of his blind Mother." He was often called upon to make long journeys to baptize and to perform other ministerial duties. "I shall next week," he says in a letter July 1, 1809, to Samuel Wheeler, the "active Church Warden" of Wicaco, "go to Pennypack to baptize 11 children in one family, besides many other concerns." In another letter at this time he says: "My parochial business is very constant, especially on account of the distant people. A considerable number often wish for my attendance on various occasions. Tomorrow I shall officiate at the funeral of Mrs. Smith, mother of Thomas Smith, our Vestryman, who died suddenly yesterday P. M. She is to be buried here, but I shall meet the procession at Blue Bell Tavern . . . The funeral will be here before 11 o'clock, as they meet at the house at eight, —this punctuality, however, may not be practicable."

Collin also insisted that the various officers of the church perform their duty properly and keep their records in order and he never relaxed his vigilance. He likewise had an eye for the finances of the churches and kept a constant watch on everything. In the letter just quoted, he says: "Since I saw you last, I went to Mr. DeHaven for desiring the speedy insertion of the Minutes of our Vestry meeting this spring. He said that he sent a fair copy of them to you in order to be recorded in the Vestry books, which are with you. It would be well to have this done quickly . . . Our settlement should be made in order to clear the way for your settlement with the committee and for a general statement of our finances. We must know our means and not go beyond them."[60]

It was encouraging for him to know that his labors and exertions had borne fruit. He came to a church almost dying in 1786. After two decades of hard work and many sorrows he could point with pride to a prosperous parish, with a church filled to capacity on Sundays, where services were conducted regularly in English and in *Swedish*. In a letter of Jan. 21, 1808, he says:

"After more than twenty-one years of constant labour I have brought the nearly ruined church of Wicacoa into a promising recovery. Before long we shall not have pews enough for all who wish to hear the word of God in it. Next Sunday I shall again read the Resolves of Vestry, and as I wish to copy some parts, I request the favour of you to leave out the Vestry book in the care of Mrs. Wheeler, that I may have the opportunity, in case of your absence. My parochial functions are so many that I cannot appoint any time. Though I am under anxious fear that all my exertions may not secure the Congregations against the dangers which will befall them after my time, I am resolved, by the Grace of God, to leave no means untried, and *to be pure from the blood of all men* (in the words of St. Paul). Let me also beg of you to hurry the committee for settling your accounts. We must soon call a vestry to finish the concerns which ought to have been done last May. These lower worldly affairs continually hinder us from attending to the Spiritual, in the two hours of Vestry-meeting."

Questions on numerous occasions came up about the baptisms, marriages, and burials that had taken place before Collin's time, and relatives or descendants often re-

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[60] Collin to Samuel Wheeler, June 10, 1809. Original in the *Henry D. Paxson Collection,* Museum.

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THE YEAR 1771

In the months of January and February I officiated in Wicacoa and its annexes during the illness of the Rector, Rev. Gjöransson. The journeys to Kingsess [ing] and Upper Merion[9] were rather difficult in cold and stormy weather. The last-mentioned place is located about 3 [Swedish] miles from Philadelphia.*

On March 1st [I] returned to Raccoon. The following day [I] started off to Maurice River, as Provost Wicsell[10] had announced Divine Service there for the following Sunday. From that fatal day I date the loss of my health. It became very cold, with hail, snow and rain. As neither the Provost nor I had any money, I could not rest at any inn [on the way], but continued the journey the whole day. At our arrival, I was so frozen that I could not talk clearly for quite a long while. On the Sunday there was a terrible storm and rain, so that the people could not cross the river; thus, no service was held. On the following Tuesday I preached at the house of Jones, an old Swede, but as always before and later in English. Through this cold [caught at this time] I lost my sense of smell for two months.

On March 31 I preached a funeral sermon for Peter Matson, one of the Swedes in Raccoon; 58 years who was found dead in his punt[11] at the mouth of Raccoon River. He had been a great drunkard for a long time. [Funeral] text: *Ecclesiastes*, 9:12. "Man knows not his time."

In May and June I went a few times to an old Swede, Mouns Keen,[12] living between Raccoon and Pensneck, two miles from the first-mentioned, in order to teach Christianity to a 17 year old girl, Elisabeth Jones, of whom he was the guardian, and afterwards I baptized her. She was, according to all appearances, well prepared.

In the middle of September I became ill with intermittent fever, and lay in misery for two months, at last without hope of recovering, throwing up blood and bile without respite, at times three hours at a stretch. After some time I could [however] resume my official duties, but had it[13] about every third day during the whole winter and became terribly haggard and subject to other grave ailments, which always follow this dreadful disease.

THE YEAR 1772

BRITA

On January 12 [I] preached at the funeral of Brit Lock. She was a Swede, and the wife of an old Swede Lars Lock,[14] about 50 years of age, and had for som time been an unkind wife to her good husband.

At the end of the month, the following February, an part of March [I] officiated in Wicacoa and its annexes

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[9] *Kingsess och Upper Merion.*

* NB. Swedish miles are always understood. (Note in the original manuscript by Collin.)

[10] Prost Wicksell. Rev. Johan Wicksell was born March 31, 1727, in Väddö Parish, near Stockholm. He entered the University of Uppsala in 1747, left the University two years later, spending four years in St. Petersburg and Viborg, returned to Sweden in 1753 and became an official in the Department of Customs. In 1757 he returned to the study of theology and was ordained in Uppsala on Dec. 26, 1760. On the 6th of July the following year (1761) Rev. Wicksell was appointed extraordinary assistant and later pastor in charge of the Swedish churches on the Delaware, and served in Raccoon and Pensneck from 1763 to 1773. Wicksell returned to Sweden in October, 1773, going by way of London. He became rector of Munktorp Parish in Västmanland on Oct. 7 the following year, where he died on June 7, 1800. Rev. Wicksell made several reports and wrote letters to the Consistory at Uppsala, which are of value for the history of the Swedish churches on the Delaware during his services here. They also throw some light on the general history of the colony.

[11] *ökstock (eka, ekstock)*, punt, scow. Perhaps it means a dugo canoe (adopted from the Indians), largely used by the Swedes on th Delaware River and its tributaries.

[12] *Mouns Keen,* Mons Keen, See Keen, Gregory B., *The Kee Geneology.*

[13] The fever.

[14] Lars Lock, a descendant of Rev. Lock, who came to America in 1647. See Johnson, *Swedish Settlements,* I, 260, 373 ff., 467; II, 54 668 ff.

marsh far up in the woods, and one morning when he was going out to work [he] fell into a trance and remained thus entirely unconscious for five weeks. When he came to himself again, he found everything in the same condition in the hut [as it was before this happened], the same quantity provisions, etc., from which it is clear that he had not miscalculated the time.[37] He regarded this as a merciful message from God, regretted his lack of church attendance and other duties, and vowed that this trance would end his long lethargy of sin. However strange this story may sound, nevertheless we find similar [events] recorded by great physicians.

THE YEAR 1774

On the first Sunday after New Year [I] preached an English sermon on 1 John, 4:1, "Try the spirits," etc., and discussed the characteristics of the true faith and the duties of the members towards it. I indicated at the proper place how dangerous and foolish it is to run after uneducated, fanatical and unordained preachers, which was especially illustrated by the pitiful effect of certain false doctrines on the material welfare of many persons and whole communities in various countries and during different periods. [I] also pointed out the direction of most erroneous doctrines prevailing here, without mentioning anyone [in particular]. After the sermon I explained to the congregation the fairness and necessity of contributing a certain [sum] towards my support. I considered this much more respectable than demanding or soliciting help from now one, now another [individual]. An agreement was then made[38] by which they bound themselves legally to pay me a certain fixed yearly salary for my whole time, but as usual with these people, after the first half year hardly anything was received. The same happened with the subscription in Pensneck.

On Jan. 11 [I] preached the funeral sermon for Elizabeth Denny, 46 years of age. She and her husband spoke Swedish, but none of their eight children. She lived two [Swedish] miles from Raccoon. I visited her twice [while she was] on her death-bed, and was present to the last. [I] also went there this morning[39] to take part in the procession to the church. Her brother, a Swede, who conducted an inn nearby [the church] sold liquors during the church service to the funeral guests and others; [his] excuse for this in my eyes barbaric behaviour was the cold and wet weather.

1774

On Feb. 25 Esaias Lock, a few and 30 years old, was buried. [He was] one of the best Swedes, whose old father, Lars Lock, and his Swedish wife were also very good. He lived only 24 hours after an unfortunate fall from the top of the attic stairs in my house by which he immediately lost his speech, and nearly all consciousness. This accident affected me so much more, as it occurred through his friendship for me; he had brought me a sack of flour and after he had emptied it, he stumbled on the top step going down and fell, head foremost, down the stairs. Since he could not be moved, the funeral took place from my house, which, at my expense, was made respectable. The wife's sorrow was pitiful [to see] for all those who had any feeling. They had to take the lid off the coffin three times and she could hardly be persuaded to take the last kiss.* I delivered the funeral sermon to a large gathering, on David's words, Ps[alms], 116, 5: "Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints."

On Feb. 19 [I] married a couple of English people. The bridegroom's mother came and seriously forbade the

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[37] *miss-räkna tiden,* miscalculate the time (the time that he was in the trance).

[38] *En subscription blef då författad,* a subscription [blank] was then drawn up.

[39] *denna morgon,* this morning (the 11th of January).

* NB. It is customary that the nearest relatives kiss the dead (Note in the original manuscript by Collin.)

persuaded and threatened him greatly: [At last] I w my way and did not want to have anything to do with them. But the party soon followed me at full gallop and the bridegroom asked me most fervently to marry them, which I finally did, after I first had gathered what information I could about all circumstances.

On October 6 I was called to Rachel, the wife of Cornelius Boon, both Swedes, living in Pensneck, 2 [Swedish] miles from Raccoon. She and her newborn baby were very ill. I gave her Holy Communion and baptized the child.

1776

In the beginning of December, I preached a funeral sermon for a Swedish widow, Maria Matson, aged 90. She had been in good health until within a few months [of her death].

This year [I] baptized several children, as usual several months old, one [child] 4 years old, two above 2 years, and another [child] 18 months, belonging to a Swede and his wife, who is a Presbyterian. Both [parents] were convinced of the necessity of baptism, and therefore when the child suddenly became ill [they] sent for me late in the evening, who then had to travel 4 [Swedish] miles at night, 2 miles there and then back again.

Already this year [1776] there was much anxiety here about the war. In the spring some warships came up into the river and fought against the American galleys a quarter of a [Swedish] mile from the Pensneck Church. After the English army had defeated the American, captured N[ew] York and spread itself over [New] Jersey, there was constant alarm. Formerly nearly all had been eager [to take part], but now as the fire came closer, many drew away, and there was much dissension among the people. Many concealed themselves in the woods, or within their houses, other people were forced to carry arms, others offered opposition and refused to go. The people were afraid to visit the church, because the authorities took the opportunity to get both horses and men. It happened towards ristmas time at the Pensneck Church, that they shot a young fellow, who would not go to the front. He hurried up on his horse and away; the bullet which barely missed him,[52] penetrated deeply into an oak tree. Through this a dreadful quarreling ensued, which seemed as though it would end in bloodshed, but by the grace of God I was able to prevent this. I remonstrated with them about their mad, un-christian behaviour and regretted that I could not conduct Divine services [in the church] until they behaved better. After that I preached in private houses in Pensneck until the following spring. At this time we saw the roads full of naked, half dead soldiers; several thousands of them died from dysentery and army fever.[53]

THE YEAR 1777

On February 4 when the militia marched off to the camp, I was taken prisoner by the officer in charge, a man of a rather bad character, and his religion, if he really had any, was Moravian. An old Swede, who had always been a worldly-minded person, and his son-in-law, a Presbyterian, had, as the Magistracy under the new Government, given him such order. I was allowed only 15 minutes in which to get ready for the 16 mile journey.[54] They also wanted to force me to cover the distance by foot, which I absolutely refused [to do]. I followed them under close guard by a strong escort with loaded guns and fixed bayonets, and judging from their barbaric expressions I often expected death, especially as many were drunk and fired several salvos for their own

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[52] *som knappast passerade honom,* which barely passed by him.

[53] *rödsot och fältfeber, röd* (red) + *sot* (o. n. *sott*) (sickness); *fält* (field) + *feber* (fever).

[54] *16 mils långa resan,* sixteen miles long journey (a journey 16 Swedish miles long, about a hundred English miles).

It seems that religious animosities helped to intensify the political feelings, which had been aroused to fever heat during the war.

spend the blessed eternity in the true Land of Life a[illegible] in the dwellings of joy.

On the following Sunday morning, [I] preached over an old German, a pious man. He had been poor [and] ailing, and some of his children had not given him much pleasure and [I] had with discernment chosen the following text: "Oh, Death, how well thou treatest the poverty-stricken, the ailing and the old . . . ." Book of Syrach,[85] 41:3, 4.

Thereafter [I] went to the above mentioned meeting-house and from there to another place, where Divine service had been announced. This was a difficult day, for the roads were rather bad, due to a deep snow, which had recently fallen.

In February [I] baptized the wife of Samuel Huling, about 30 years old, and their four children, about 9, 7, 5 and 3 years of age [respectively]. She had been brought up a sort of Quaker, but had gradually taken a fancy to our church and was now quite willing to be baptized and accepted into the congregation. She was now rather indisposed and anxious over her approaching danger, as she was soon to give birth to a child, through which her sister had recently died. She told me also how it terrified her to see her sister buried without any ceremonies or prayers, just like a dumb animal (as the Quakers used to do), and what a comfort it would be, if God should desire to call her, to be followed to her last resting-place under religious ceremonies, there to mix her ashes with those of her family. Noble souls all over the world have such feelings, and where a certain *religio loci* is missing, there is not much true religion found. This woman has since continued in her attachment to our congregation.

In March [I] preached a funeral sermon for her young child, who was born shortly after the baptism of the mother, and whose short life of six weeks was a constant suffering from swelling and sores [illegible] the entire body. The funeral text: Job, XIV:I. "Man that is born of a woman is of few days, and full of trouble." [In] the discussion [of the text I brought out] how such a suffering of an innocent child is a clear proof that his earthly life is only the first dawn of eternal bliss.

In March [I] married Jonas Lock, a young Swede, to Sarah Sparks, step-daughter of a Swede [by the name of] Rambo, and brought up half-Presbyterian; also Debora Batton (of a Swedish mother) to a Quaker.

On April 13 after Divine services in Pensneck, I followed Andrew Helms to his home to marry his eldest daughter, 22 years old. He and his wife speak Swedish well, but none of their children understand it. The son-in-law was Ebenezer Pittman, an English-man, half-Quaker and half-Presbyterian, still unbaptized. We waited a good while for him, and finally we sat down to our meal. No guests were invited. The parents told me, that he had seduced their daughter and probably had no intention to keep his promise. The mother was rather angry and said she would be more content with this than to see her daughter unhappily wedded to such a dishonor able man. Before we had finished our dinner, however he arrived and the couple was married after declaring their willingness. Many parents in this wild country would rather follow their children to the grave than to see them married under such deplorable circumstances.

On a Sunday afternoon in May I preached at the house of George Vanlear, whose wife was on her deathbed The parents and their eldest children had been baptized by Provost Wic[k]sell. Now I baptized the three young est [children], aged 9, 6 and 2 years [respectively] The reason given for the delay was the miserable times Their son-in-law had belonged to the English party and had lost all his property. They acknowledged thei neglect, however, and she was very glad to see them baptized before her death. My last visit there was o the day before her death, which [she] expected wit

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[85] See Note 76, above.

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HULING

miles from the Raccoon Church and 1½ [Swedish] miles from Pensneck, there is a beautiful little church which has at intervals been served by Episcopal missionaries. These were paid partly by the people, but mostly from England. Vacancies had often occurred, for the missionaries had grown weary of the people. I preached there once in 1775. Afterward they had a clergyman from Ireland for half a year. For the last 9 years the church has been deserted. Now I was invited to hold Divine services on a suitable occasion, and from the beginning of July until the end of the year I went there every third Sunday after the service in Pensneck had been concluded. The number of listeners was 100 to 140 of all kinds of people. Several children were baptized. At the first baptism a large number of persons were present out of curiosity, so that there was a great throng. In order to do the most good in the short time at my disposal I chose special subjects, which I had liberty to do at the English services, since I was not committed to the Sunday text.[88]

In September I preached at the burial of the old widow Sträng. She was Swedish, between 70 and 80 years old, had an aged son still living who, as well as his wife and children, speaks Swedish. She was a religious woman and had for some years [past] not been able to attend church on account of her great age and weakness; wherefore I often preached in her house and rendered Communion. [Funeral] text: "With long life will I satisfy him and shew him my salvation;" Psalms, 91:16. A Swedish psalm was sung and explained in English.

Late in the autumn I delivered a funeral sermon for the above mentioned widow Batton in her house ¼ of a [Swedish] mile from the Raccoon Church, because the weather was very cold. At the same time [I] preached at the burial of Huling. He understood a little Swedish, had come from Pennsylvania in the time of Provost Wicsell, and had at times suffered from melancholy, even madness, and for 7 to 8 years [he] suffered continuously with a peculiar illness of the intestines, so that he had never had any natural evacuation,[89] but had to watch favorable symptoms and by stretching himself over chairs and other violent operations forced nature. This, together with the mania which follows with it, can to some extent excuse his strange behavior, which at times was both alarming and terrible, for he seemed otherwise to be well disposed toward religion. [The funeral] text was: Syr[ach], 40, with the 10 first verses, "A poor and miserable thing," etc. I dealt with the misery of life in general and how this sometimes is increased by the influence of vices and godlessness on the body, mind and temporal fortune. Nothing, either good or bad, was said about the man and I admonished the people to seek that life, where no suffering, no sorrow nor death exist. In the family of this man there is an [inherent] natural melancholy, especially in a sister and two children.

This year the following women were baptized:

Hester, about 23 years of age, together with her first child. She had been brought up half-Quaker. Her husband, Thomas England, belonged to the congregation.

Anna, the wife of Thomas Batton, about 50 years old, [who] has many children, one daughter married.

The wife of Gideon Clark in Pensneck, of the same age, of Swedish extraction, who had formerly in a way belonged to the church, together with husband and children.

The above mentioned Thomas Batton had, together with his brothers, been baptized by the Provost Wicsell in 1763.

This autumn I preached a funeral sermon in the Raccoon Church over Malachia Horner. As the burial took

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[88] In the Swedish Lutheran Church book certain texts are prescribed for each Sunday. There are three texts for each Sunday, which are used in consecutive order, so that the same text is used every third year.

[89] *någon naturlig digestion,* any natural digestion.

THE YEAR 1785

At the beginning of January I was called to a young Swede, Peter Cox, who was seriously ill in pleurisy. After I had prayed in English in the evening and sung a few Swedish psalms, I went to an inn in the vicinity and returned the next morning. Two days later [I] delivered a funeral sermon for him in the house. [The funeral] text: "Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth." Ecclesiastes, XII:1.

In the middle of February, when it was terribly cold with a northwest wind [blowing], I preached one Sunday in a house in Pensneck, 2 [Swedish] miles from Raccoon. From there [I] travelled 2 [Swedish] miles to visit an old English widow, Elisabeth Sennecson, over 70 years old, who was on her deathbed. [I] sought quarters for the night on the way there, and arrived at my destination the next morning. After I had comforted her and given her Communion I went home, which was more than a mile. This five miles' journey gave me a severe cold, so that the swelling in my face lasted until far on in the spring.

In the beginning of March I delivered the funeral sermon over Wiljam England, a few and 50 years old, who for several years had at times acted as parish clerk[*] in the English congregation. He had had his cross in this world. Besides other more difficult [things], two of his sons had gone over to the English side and died in distant places. [The funeral] text [was]: "It is better to go to the house of mourning than to go to the house of feasting," etc. Eccl[esiastes], VII: 2, 3, 4, 5.

On Good Friday English services were held after the Swedish [services].

At the beginning of May I delivered the funeral sermon for Lars Lock, a Swede, 80 years old. This man

was, together with the frequently mentioned John Hellms, the best in the parish, and had always been helpful to the clergyman. He had had his share of mortal trouble, partly on account of the conduct of his wife, and partly his son's[**] and daughter-in-law's[†] tragic deaths; but [he] had a cheerful disposition and had retained his physical vigor until a year ago. During the last months he had gradually failed and went out at last like a candle light. He was conscious to the last, and even when he had lost his speech, he was glad to listen to prayers and psalms. [The funeral] text was: "The hoary head is a crown of glory, if it be found in the way of righteousness." Proverbs, 16:31.

The [above] mentioned Helena Lock, who died in a fit of insanity[§], was a widow of this man's brother, Carl, who died in 1771. Another brother, Pehr, about 70 years old, died last year. But this one had seldom attended the church before my time and after, although he otherwise lived a good moral life. One reason for this was probably his unhappy married life with a wife, who was a hardhearted, worldly woman, who never though of attending Divine services. She died in a terrible and painful dropsy a year previously, and after that I managed to induce him to come to church a couple of times. If he had lived, there would probably have been a great change. They were indeed both Swedish, and the children also speak that language. These [people] are mentioned in this place in order to show what a palpable difference often is found even between the closest relatives, because no law enforces [the practice of] any outward religion, thereby maintaining at least a general Christian behavior.

In this month (May) I went to the house of John Hickman in Pensneck, after Divine services, 1/3 of a [Swedish] mile from the church on the other side; gave

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[*] "As he was master of a yacht [going] between Philadelphia and Raccoon, he was often absent from the services". (Note in the original by Collin.)

[**] "Who fell in my house." (Note in the original by Collin.)

[†] "Who drowned." Note in the original by Collin).

[§] "She died in 1772." (Note in the original by Collin.)

WEST JERSEY UNDER 4 FLAGS

BY RALPH R TRUP (2)

IV

The West Jersey Shore Develops

JAMES STEELMAN WAS BUSY at the Tacony plantation, and he was talking of selling his property. He was at home but infrequently. During 1688 and 1689, he had made several trips to the Jersey shore and talked excitedly of living there. Ella, his mother, knew he visited the Mullicas at their Tarakan estate from time to time, but she was surprised to learn he had become a frequent guest at the Christian Tay plantation, their neighbors. James and Elias Tay had been lifetime friends, and it was to be expected that the fraternal ties would continue unbroken. Ella complained because James did not stop in to see her and Hans as frequently as she hoped. She learned that from time to time James was an overnight or a weekend guest of the Tays. Then came the news. Susannah Tay, sister of Elias Tay, and a longtime friend of James, had accepted James's proposal of marriage. While Hans and Ella had not planned such a union, nor were they consulted, it was an especially agreeable engagement. The Tays were prosperous people, held in high esteem among the Swedes, and were close neighbors. Equally important, the Tays were Swedes. Susannah was a blond, blue-eyed, large-boned young woman who, judging by her build, promised many hale and hearty grandsons.

Ella had lots of time to reminisce, as did Hans. Free of direct responsibilities for the operation of the plantation, Ella and Hans had ample opportunity to dream of the future and to recall the past. Ella would be involved in the plans for the wedding. Being neighbors, some part of the wedding celebration would fall upon the Steelmans. The major responsibilities of the wedding and its attendant festivities fell upon the Tays; yet the overflow of guests would require that many be put up at the Steelmans.

Ella recalled the close friendship which had extended over the years between Susannah and James, how they had attended church together, learned their cathechisms together, visited back and forth between the two properties and sailed back and forth across the Delaware when livestock was being transported to Dock Creek for sale. She could visualize the courting: James and Susannah going for rides on their horses; sitting before the fireplace, at the Tays, to talk; and lying on long winter nights on Susannah's bed, with her under one quilt and James atop the quilt, whereby the couple gained a degree of privacy while conserving heat and light.

Ella dreamed her dreams while Hans followed his own thought-patterns. Hans thought of the wedding as a part of his admiration for his extended acres of well-cared-for farmlands, the great barns which provided storage as well as stables for his horses. Ella was more concerned about the interior appearance of the home. "Certainly," she assured herself, "this is a very suitable place in which to entertain." The whitewashed plaster walls provided a desirable background for the pieces of furniture which she had accumulated over the years. Most of these pieces had been built by itinerant cabinetmakers who used the cherry, the oak, or the maple readily available on the plantation. "With my fine linen on the dining room table, my new pewter candelabra agleam with candles, the dining room will be a picture. I am so happy that the children gave me the pewter table service and the fine china, for they add elegance which would have been lacking were I obliged to use the tin cups and wooden spoons with which I began my marriage." The dining table would seat twenty-six people at a time comfortably and from the adjacent kitchen and bakery, a wide variety of foods and pastries would be served to tempt the palates of the guests.

Among those expected to be housed at the Steelman's were the Peter Rambo family, lifelong friends and neighbors from Aronomink; the Sven Svensons; Captain Lars Kock, with his wife and nine children; Anders Bonde, his wife and ten children; and, of course, the Steelmans, with their children. While the married couples would enjoy the wedding and the extended gala, Ella hoped that the young men from

among the Swedes, the single men such as John Bonde, Hindrick Collman, Matts Jacobs, and Lars Larson would attend. Young, single men were needed to enliven the parties and, naturally, to enable the young people to meet, and hopefully, become romatically aware of one another.

The celebration would begin at Gloria Dei, Wicacao, after which the guests would begin to arrive at the Tay's and at the Steelman's. No one could foretell how many would come, nor how long they would stay. In addition, all neighbors were invited and would come for varying periods of time. Hans was having the men put up benches and tables in the yard about the house. The stables were being aired and cleaned lest they be needed for sleeping quarters. The bedrooms would sleep quite a number, and the children would sleep on pallets placed on the floor. While Ella was dreaming of the huge roasts baking in the ovens, while great vats filled with potatoes or carrots and other staples bubbled over the fires,with savory pies and cakes and breads belching forth from the ovens, Hans was making certain he had adequate supplies of hard cider, brandy, wine, and brews for the celebration.

The days rushed by amid much bustling and visiting between the families, and the hustle and excitement gave Ella an exhilaration she had not experienced for a long time. As the preparations continued that last week, she checked through the rooms to make certain the servants had dusted thoroughly. She admired the hooked rugs which graced the wide-planked floors and which lent color to the entire room. The dining room floor was bare. The hooked rug which had occupied the floor had been banished to a bedroom. Ella had a surprising bit of luxury with which to amaze her guests. At the last minute, she would have the maids lay her rug. The latest in style, it had just been landed at the pier a few days previously. This straw carpet would draw commendatory remarks from the women, albeit such compliments might be tinged with shades of envy.

Transportation for the guests was a matter of concern. Canoes and flatboats were the principal means of movement. While the coastal trading vessels which stopped at the plantation's pier were excellent and economical means for moving pelts, grain, barreled meats, and livestock to market, social visits and calls meant travel by water, by foot, or by horseback. Travel by land meant following the Indian trails. Fording a stream in dry weather was easily done, but where a stream had been swollen by heavy rains or by melting snow, a ford became almost impassable. In such a case, one swam with the horse across the stream. In any case, with the best of transportation facilities, the vagaries of the weather could well dampen the guests' enjoyment.

The time sped past quickly. The marriage complied with all the customs of the Swedish community. The bridal couple appeared at Gloria Dei wearing the prescribed crowns and garlands. Susannah's hair was coifed according to the accepted style. The entire congregation could and did enjoy, vicariously, the evident joy emanating from the happy couple and from the proud family.

Such happy and formal weddings were not always the way of a maid and her man since the English had taken over the government. The English had provided legal means whereby the couple need not have the banns read, nor a religious ceremony held. Rather, they could appear at a county office and obtain a marriage license. The bridegroom needed to give bond that neither he nor the bride suffered any legal bar nor hindrance whereby they should not be married. The prospective groom then posted a bond to the amount of between $5,000 to $10,000 copper attesting to their right to be married. Upon signing the bond, for which a fee was charged, the license of marriage was issued by the county clerk. The license, issued in the name of the governor, required no minister to perform a ceremony. From this, the issuance of the bond and the licensure for marriage, the governor obtained an incidental income.[1] Where civil ceremonies were performed, the ceremony was usually quite informal, and the bride did not appear in any but her regular clothes. Such a marriage did not occasion much great joy among the family, in those early days. A cloud existed, and an unspoken question was raised which was emphasized by the arching of the eyebrows or by the shrug of the shoulder.

But the ceremony went well. The church was crowded, for Hans and Ella Mansson were widely known and highly respected as were the Christian Tay family. And so by boat, by horse, and by cart, the Swedes gathered at Gloria Dei, and then at the Tay plantation to celebrate the jointure of two Swedish families. At the Tay's, the fiddlers played for dancing and the colorful scene, enhanced by the dancers following the figures, the constant flow of light conversation, the constant supply of beverages, and the sudden eruption of masculine laughter, probably at an off-color story, joined to attest to the

happiness of the event and to the warm hospitality of the Tay family. During the week, idle gossip and games occupied the younger people, many of whom paired off to walk along the river or explore the woods. Some of the men engaged in early-morning duck hunting; a number left in the evening on a wolf hunt. The call of the wolves frightened the women far more than the everpresent summer danger of the many rattlesnakes. Conversation among the adults encompassed the story of the alleged member of the royal family who had been encased in a barrel with her jewels at Gothenburg and shipped to the New World. In a storm off the Jersey coast, the ship foundered, and she was washed ashore. Here she was found by a hunter, who led her to safety. From this unexpected meeting, romance blossomed; and the two were married. No one could guess the name of this royal woman, but from this union came the Garrison family of Cumberland County. While this bit of gossip intrigued the party, they were more interested in the report of an arrest. Israel Helms, Mons Justeson, and William Cobb had been brought before the Gloucester County Court and charged with unlawful hunting and killing of pigs. No details were known. In the 1640s a shipment of pigs from Sweden to New Sweden had escaped when being unloaded; and they took to the forests where they bred and multiplied, developing into wild pigs. Their killing was lawful. The arrest indicated a question of fact to be determined by the court, "Did they kill wild pigs, or the domesticated pigs claimed by a citizen?"

The bride and groom suffered the usual broad jibes faced by any newly married couple. Susannah was fully advised that it was important to her to make certain that James at no time acquired more debts than he was able to pay. Should he die with such debts, Susannah's chances at obtaining another husband would be limited. Even should she become engaged, on the day of such marriage, she would have to leave her domicile dressed only in a shift to prove she was removing no assets of the indebted and deceased husband and thus not defrauding any creditors.

While Susannah was surrounded by the women, James was the center of attention among the more serious adults. Lars Kock began asking James what plans he and Susannah had made for the future. James replied that he had sold the Tacony property and for a while they would reside with Ella and Hans. Within a short time, he said, he hoped to acquire property at the eastern end of Gloucester County. Olaf pressed the matter further, asking, "Just where do you expect to buy ground?" James answered, "I have been looking over the lands about the Great Egg Harbor and hope to purchase a large enough acreage on that river." Ella interposed herself, "My son, James, is plumb loco. Imagine moving to such a faraway place, loaded with mosquitoes and no neighbors about for many miles." Ella had been through this with James earlier and probably hoped the group would join with her to sway James's decision.

But James had an answer. "From the monies I get for Tacony, I can buy a much larger spread there than I can about here. Actually, there is no desirable waterfront property available here." But Ella, unsatisfied and with her maternal feelings fully exposed, countered with, "Suppose you are sick; how can I help you? Suppose you and Susannah need help; how will we know? We will be so far separated that we will become as strangers."

Lars was in agreement. "We are all well situated in our present locations. From Cinnaminson, you are convenient to the Philadelphia markets. You need ship your cattle and other stock only across the river to Dock Creek [later known as Dock Street after the stream was covered]. Transportation is no factor. With your flatboat, you can ride the current to Dock Creek. But how will you market your produce and your livestock way down on the Great Egg Harbor River? Are you going to sail all the way around Cape May and up the Delaware to Philadelphia, or are you going to drive your cattle overland to Manhattan? The cost of land is secondary when you consider the disadvantages of the location such as you describe."

Talk veered inevitably to farm operations. Prices were holding firm. Wheat was bringing four shillings; rye and barley sold at three shillings; oats were at two shillings; and Indian corn brought three shillings sixpence. Mutton and veal were retailing for five cents per pound, and butter was being retailed for twelve cents. Turkeys were in plentiful supply. In the city, they sold for two shillings each.

Prices were in proper ratio to wages. The average worker was paid up to two dollars per week. A doctor charged fifty cents for a house call, which, in many cases, involved a drive of many miles. A house suitable for a working person could be had at the equivalent of $1,000.

The Jersey shore was opening to settlers. Thomas Budd landed at Burlington in 1678. In England, he had become a member of the

Friends Society. He migrated to Burlington, New Jersey, where he, along with Thomas Gardner, was authorized to collect two hundred pounds to defray the expenses of the West Jersey province. Budd headed a committee acting at the behest of the West Jersey proprietors to protest to the duke of York his appointment of Edward Byllynge to the high office of governor. On second thought, the delegation was advised to submit this protest to a small group of which George Fox was the head rather than journey to England to see the duke of York. The final decision was to hand the government over to Byllynge. With this matter concluded in 1688, the first general assembly of West Jersey met in Burlington November 25, 1681, with Thomas Revell, clerk, and Thomas Olive, speaker. In 1683, Budd and Francis Collins were given the right to purchase 1,000 acres at The Falls, being the present site of Trenton.[2] Budd became a large-scale speculator, buying large tracts and selling them off in smaller parcels throughout Burlington, Gloucester, and Cape May counties.

James Steelman's interest in property at the shore may have been whetted by the success of Mullica's Tarakan plantation on the Mullica from which Mullica was deriving a substantial living. Too, the success of Captain James Clark, who had established himself on the Mullica River, near Egg Harbor, promised well for Steelman's venture. In 1679, Captain James Clark made the first settlement on the south side of the Mullica River at what became known as Clark's Landing. From this point, Clark operated a trading vessel, picking up and discharging freight at the piers of the various plantations. Here he also built some twenty seagoing vessels. The principal cargoes were made up of pelts, timber, and barreled meats going to New York, from whence he brought ammunition, cloth, wines, and other necessities. With such transportation facilities available, James Steelman was able to operate his plantation efficiently. Clark's Landing by 1718 had forty homes, a trading post, and a log church serving 270 people.

Transportation, whether of people or commodities, was borne largely on the rivers, and those holding waterfront lands had great advantages. For those who owned waterfront plantations, the natural resources and cheap labor costs returned to the owners substantial earnings. Raw hides, deer and elk skins, rum, lumber, tar, and pitch were shipped to England. To the West Indies were shipped wheat, flour, and Indian corn. The Carolinas were ready market for wheat, flour, bread, cheese, and, in turn, shipped to the north, tar, pitch and turpentine. The West Indies shipped muscovado sugar, syrup, Spanish gold, and silver coin. To the Honduras were shipped provisions of all kinds in return for mahogany, lignum vitae, logwood, and brazil wood. In the trans-shipments of these items the shipowners served as middlemen. England followed its historic policy of buying raw materials in trade for bottled liquors and a wide range of manufactured goods. Ireland sent its linens and servants, as well as indentured servants.

Many indentured servants were required to serve a five-year term. A typical indenture contract read: "July 22, 1681, Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Curtis, binds herself as a servant for four years to Elias Farr, chees [sic] monger, going to West Jersey, for which he is to give her forty acres." Ships bearing cargoes for nations other than England, for instance, shipments of rice from South Carolina to Rotterdam, had to dock at an English port and pay a duty on the cargo before landing at Rotterdam. Rotterdam provided the colonists with indentured servants, for which the colonists were charged $350 each. The servant contracted to work out the cost for a term of three or five years, at the end of which the servant was freed and given a sum of $25 in cash.

On November 10, 1695, James Steelman purchased from Thomas Budd 500 acres at or near the Great Egg Harbor River.[3] The acreage was in two plots, one having 200 acres, abutted the Patconck Creek and the second tract of 300 acres, being part of the grantor's 850 acres on the Great Egg Harbor River. In time, this became part of a tract known today as Steelmanville. At the same time, Steelman was not the only one moving into this area, nor were all the settlers Swedes. John Somers, an Englishman, had purchased earlier 1,500 acres, after which, on November 30, 1695, he bought an additional 1,500 acres. Eight hundred of these acres lay between Patconck Creek, northeast of James Steelman's land; the second parcel was between Peter Covenoven's land and Patconck Creek. Covenoven's purchase of 250 acres occurred immediately prior to Somers's second purchase. The Covanoven name became Anglicized to Conover. Peter Covanoven came from Long Island. On the same day in 1695, Budd sold to Jonathan Adams, also of Long Island, 200 acres at Great Egg Harbor between John Skull's land and Patconck Creek. Skull, whose name was later Americanized to Scull, was another Long Islander; and he held title to a piece of land between the Sound and the marsh as well as to a second plot lying between Peter Covanoven's, Jonas Valentine's and the Patconck Creek. Valentine held title to 100 acres. John

Gilbert of Bucks County also had purchased 100 acres adjacent to Patconck Creek. In turn, John Somers sold James Steelman an additional 100 acres from Somer's second purchase of 1,500 acres.[4]

The Somers family had come from Worcester, England, and settled at Somerton, Pennsylvania, in 1681. For the land purchased of Budd, totaling 3,000 acres, Somers paid 240 sterling.[5] Two years earlier, John Dennis, on January 1, 1687, bought from the Indian Panketee, a large tract of land near Cape Island, which area is now known as Dennisville.

In 1692, a ferry at Beesley's Point began operation. For cattle, the fare was one shilling per head; a sheep or a dog fare was four pence, and grain was one pence per bushel. For many years, this ferry provided the only route from Cape May overland to New York City or Philadelphia. For cattle men, the ferry fare for the movement of cattle across the bay constituted a notable but necessary expense.

With the mainland becoming populated, Absecon Island became an attractively convenient and safe place for pasturing cattle. The island had been surveyed in ten lots, or surveys. In one survey, Thomas Budd owned 4,409 acres. Others owning lands were:

Amos Ireland	49 acres as of Feb. 6, 1727
Andrew Steelman	180 acres as of July 5, 1727
Andrew Steelman	10 acres as of July 5, 1727
Peter Conover	100 acres as of May 20, 1729
Andrew Steelman	12 acres as of Dec. 12, 1729
Daniel Ireland	34 acres as of Feb. 18, 1732
Andrew Steelman	20 acres as of Apr. 20, 1733
Andrew Steelman	34 acres as of Apr. 25, 1734
John Ladd	717 acres as of Mar. 4, 1739
John Ladd	328 acres as of Mar. 5, 1739

The lands were used for the communal grazing of cattle, which were identified by their earmarks. In 1727, the holdings, as of that date, were joined and divided into eighty-three shares as follows:[6]

James Steelman	18	John Conover	6.6
Jonathan Adams	7	Richard Risley	11.0
John Scull	6	Thomas Risley	6.6
Andrew Steelman	4	Edward Doughty	8.0
Peter Scull	6	Samuel Gale	.4
Peter Conover	9		

As indicated above, this communal holding soon ended with trading in the land as shown above.

By 1736, Andrew Steelman held title to most of this land plus 300 acres which John Scott of Rhode Island had held since 1714 in another survey. Also, from the other surveys, Andrew Steelman had 256 acres; Amos Ireland, 49 acres; Peter Conover, 100 acres; Daniel Ireland, 34 acres; and John Ladd, 1,035 acres.

Absecon Island was an expanse of sand dunes, gnarled trees, and underbrush. In addition to grazing their own herds of cattle on these lands, other cattle raisers used the lands by paying agreed-upon fees. By 1780 nine and one-half surveys were owned by John Sommers, which, at his death, he vested in his daughter, Sarah Kean. She, in turn, sold the land to George West. Jeremiah Leeds held title to a tract which ran across the island, from the thoroughfare to the ocean, bounded on the south by the present Jackson Avenue. Mainland sales continued.

On November 20, 1706, Thomas Budd sold to Peter Steelman, James's brother, 110 acres at Gravelly Run. Adjoining this plot were fifty acres purchased by another brother, Eric. Eric sold his land to Peter and moved to Salem County. Peter built stables, corrals, and a substantial home and began the development of his plantation. By 1710 he was the first settler of Mays Landing.

However, the rapid buying of shore tracts led to an increase in selling prices of the land. In a short time, land that had sold for ten cents an acre rose to forty cents an acre. In an era when most business was a matter of trade and little money was used, the prices were high.

The Thomas Leeds family migrated to New Jersey from England and settled in Shrewsbury on a substantial grant of land. Thomas's first wife may have been desolated by her separation from her family and friends and her introduction into the rough and often necessarily lonely life of Colonial East Jersey. We can assume she was a well-bred, cultured, and genteel woman, for the Leeds family had been an extremely wealthy and noted family. Unfortunately, a member of the family had become enmeshed in the web of power politics which entwined about the throne. A member of Parliament, Thomas Osborne Leeds had been rewarded for outstanding services to the Crown by being made earl of Canby. Perhaps he assumed too much on his new dignity. In any case, he expressed himself too forcibly in opposition to King Charles II's opportunistic overtures to the Roman Catholic hierarchy, and suddenly the earl found himself imprisoned in the

TABLE 2

THE PETER AND GARTARA STEELMAN FAMILY

Peter, son of Hans and Ella Mansson, born ca. 1667; died 1762; married Gartara in Gloria Dei Church and in 1697 was listed by Rudman as being a member of Gloria Dei with his wife and two children. They had:

- *Peter,* buried Dec. 15, 1720 (Raccoon Church Register).
- *George,* who married Phoebe Adams Dec. 12, 1737.
- *Matthias,* who married Sarah Adams, Sept. 14, 1730.
- *Charles,* who married Margaret Scull, Jan. 5, 1731.
- *Gartara,* who married Daniel Lake, Sept. 14, 1730.
- *Maria,* buried Dec. 15, 1720 (Raccoon Church Record).

Of these, *Matthias,* described as a gentleman plantation owner at Tuckahoe, river pilot, and overseer of the Friends meeting (his plantation was on northeast side of Tuckahoe River) had:

George, who lived in Cumberland County; died Sept. 8, 1809. He had: *George* and *Matthias,* who settled in Surrey Co., North Carolina, on land grants obtained Apr. 4, 1788; *James,* with wife, Hannah, made his first land purchase of Providence, Reuben, and Anthony Ludham, and a second of Lewis and Elizabeth Cresse. The two purchases, made June 2, 1759, and Oct. 30, 1807, were combined into one plantation. He had another plantation on Hoop Pole Creek and South River. *James* and *Hannah* had: *Charles, Jonas, Reve, Phoebe, Stevenson, Naomi, Lawrence, Hannah Richman, Jane,* and *Sarah Barrett.* In their late years, *James* and *Hannah* conveyed the lands to son, *Charles,* conditioned upon him supporting them during their life times. *Jonathan,* the fourth son, married Hannah Corson, operated a plantation on the Hoope Pole Creek and South River; later they established a plantation in Cape May now known as Steelmantown.

Matthias willed his estate, one-third to his wife, Sarah, and two-thirds to son, George. James and Jonathan were each willed ten shillings. John Champion and Ebenezer Ingersoll witnessed the will which was proved Apr. 9, 1784.

Jonathan and *Hannah Corson Steelman* had:

Hezekiah, born Nov. 14, 1764; married Caty Gant, 1785, and had *Margaret* and *Elizabeth;* married second time to Ann Estel Champion, widow of John Champion, who died suddenly Oct. 11, 1793, after having been married Aug. 9, 1792. Hezekiah and Ann Estel Champion were married Sept. 15, 1795 and had: *Andrew,* Sept. 26, 1796; *Elizabeth,* Aug. 17, 1798; *Hannah,* Apr. 25, 1802; *Rheuhamer,* June 16, 1804; *Ellen,* June 16, 1806; *Sarah,* July 16, 1808; *Joseph,* Nov. 7, 1810; *Martha,* Oct 5, 1813; *Hezekiah,* Aug. 31, 1815; and *Margaret,* Dec. 7, 1817.

Jonathan Steelman, husband of Hannah Corson, was killed in the Great Egg Harbor Inlet on Feb. 22, 1781, aboard the brig *Fame,* on which he was serving as a pilot.

grim Tower of London. Fortunately for him, in 1648 he left the Tower erect upon his own feet, with his head still positioned firmly on his neck. After this release, Thomas joined with others in offering the throne to William of Orange. Again, Leeds was rewarded by being given a dukedom. The perilous conflicts in which Thomas Osborne Leeds had been involved may have endangered other members of the family. To some of them, the faraway shores of America must have appeared havens of safety and tranquility. The Leeds family migrated to Shrewsbury. They brought with them two of their three sons, William and Thomas Jr. Daniel remained in London to conclude family affairs. His mother died two years after landing in Shrewsbury. Thomas Leeds secured large tracts of land in Northampton Township, Burlington County, and in the process of furthering his interests, courted a new wife, Margaret Collier of Marcus Hook. Thomas died in 1687 and Margaret, having dutifully and even piously buried him beside his first wife, left immediately for Philadelphia, where social life was much gayer and more brilliant. She died in Philadelphia in 1703.

Daniel Leeds, born in 1652, who had remained in London to finalize the family affairs in England, arrived in East Jersey in 1677, having landed with the ship *Shield* with other Quakers at Burlington. Here he wooed and won as his bride, Ann Stacey, daughter of Robert Stacey, a tanner by trade. They were married February 21, 1681. The young couple took up residence at Jackson, now Jacksonville, a short distance from Burlington. Ann died in childbirth. The child, Ann, died also. Two years later, in January 1683, Daniel Leeds married for the second time, this time to Dorothy Young, and purchased of Robert Stacey 100 acres in the first tenth at Springfield. By this second marriage Daniel sired Felix, Bethanah, Ann, Daniel, Titan, Phile, Japhet, and Mary.

Daniel Leeds was a desirable husband for Dorothy—or any other girl. He had a degree of wealth in his own right, was one of three heirs to his father's substantial holdings, was a cooper by trade, which was a highly profitable occupation in that day and age, and had a seemingly boundless energy. Like most of the ambitious young men of West Jersey, he was an opportunistic pragmatist. In 1682 he was elected to the general assembly, which held its session in the West Jersey capital, Burlington. He was appointed to the prestigious governor's council, a highly desirable position for an ambitious man. Appointed surveyor general in West Jersey, Daniel soon found himself

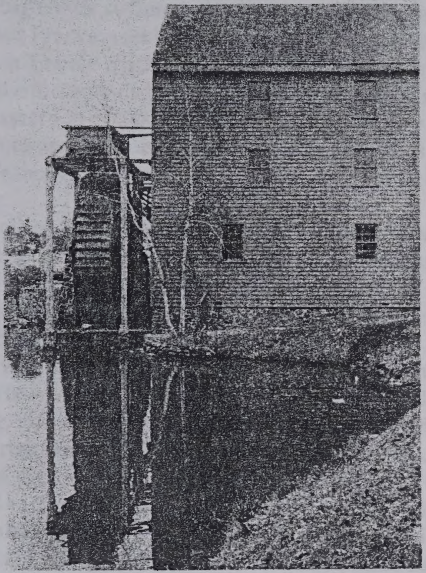
involved in a [illegible]ries of legal entanglements. He was accused of making "interdelineations and alterations of surveys" and was later prosecuted for "contempts and misdemeaners" in the conduct of his office of surveyor general. During his term as surveyor general, Leeds traveled about West Jersey, especially through Burlington and Gloucester counties, mapping streams and naming them as well as the bays and inlets. In the course of his travels, he was careful to set aside for his own use a tract of land occupying the highest point of the coastal plain between the Atlantic highlands and the Virginia capes. The land to which he took title consisted of 1,000 acres and came to be known as Leeds Point. Daniel Leeds was a busy man, but not too busy, for in 1686 he began publishing an almanac in Philadelphia, printed by William Bradford. This printing press was but the third in the colonies.

On the death of his second wife, Dorothy, Daniel married once more, this time to a widow, Jean Smout, relict of the late Edward Smout. Little is known of her. Did she bring with her assets which enriched Daniel Leeds, or did he merely want experienced help? No one knows. Perhaps he only wanted and needed companionship. Over the years, he had tried many things and accomplished much. He was a signer of the Concessions and Agreements, under which the proprietors would conduct their own affairs and under the terms of which the West Jersey proprietors still conduct their business. He served as a justice in 1692 and a justice of the supreme court in 1709. Leeds was closely associated and aligned with Edward Hyde, Lord Cornbury, the dissolute and tyrannical homosexual governor whose heavy taxes and questionable behavior nauseated the Swedes. Daniel's son Japhet, at age twenty-seven, married Deborah Smith and in 1710 settled on his heritage, none other than Leeds Point. Titan, Japhet's brother, became sheriff of Burlington County.

In this same time period, a second Clark family moved from Saybrook, Connecticut, and settled on the Great Egg Harbor, just east of the present Mays Landing. Thomas, the father, died in 1668, leaving Ann, his widow, with three children, Daniel, Sarah, and Elizabeth. Attaining adulthood, Daniel married a girl named Mary, who gave him first a son, Daniel, on February 3, 1683, and following closely on February 11, 1686, a second son, Thomas. After a period of years, Mercy was born on October 10, 1702, somewhat belatedly, possibly an afterthought and undoubtedly a great surprise. In turn, Thomas married a girl named Hannah, who made him the proud father of

The Methodist church dominates Smithville.

four sons, named Thomas, Jr.; David; Samuel, who became a Presbyterian minister; and Elijah, born in 1732. A legend of this family asserts that on the death of Hannah, the widower, Thomas, sent his eldest son, Thomas, Jr., to Saybrook, Connecticut, to woo a particular woman on the father's behalf. Junior was told that should Ruth say "no", then Junior was to secure consent from any available woman. Junior not only carried out his mission tactfully but brought back the Ruth he was sent to woo. Having successfully seen his father married, Thomas, Jr., returned to Saybrook, where he courted and married

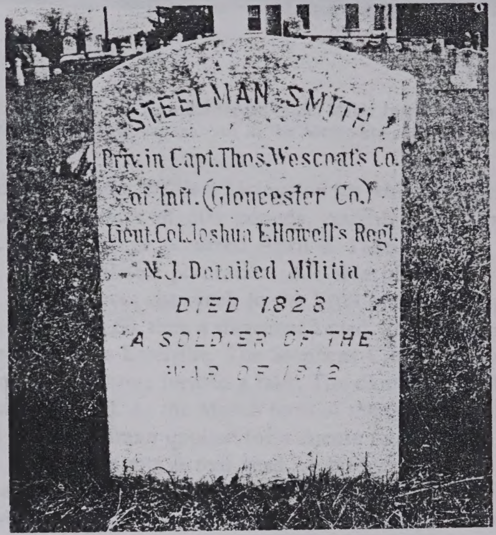


A typical gristmill of Colonial construction stands, fully restored, at the Smithville Colonial Village.

Sarah Parker either in 1740 or in 1753. Elijah served in the provincial congress in 1775 and died December 9, 1795. Elijah had a son, John Lardner, who married Marion Ross, granddaughter of the Reverend John Brainerd. Thomas and Sarah Parker Clark had three sons, John Hampton Clark, father of Beauchamp Clark, Democratic hopeful for the presidential nomination in 1812. As with the Clarks, the Skull family became a substantial part of West Jersey history.

John Skull, Americanized to Scull, arrived at Long Island with his brother, Nicholas,[7] aboard the ship *Bristol Merchant* in 1685. They were the direct descendants of Sir John Skull, one of the twelve Normans dubbed by Robert, duke of Normandy, in the fifteenth century. Normans by ancestry, the Scull family intermarried with others of the early settlers including the Steelmans, the Leedses, and the Barretts and left such place names as Scull's Bay and Scullville, originally known as Jeffers. William Lake originally owned this tract of land. He died in 1716 and devised 450 acres on the Great Egg Harbor to his son, Nathan Lake, who had married Mary Scull, daughter of Peter Scull, who, with his brother Peter, were sons of John Skull. A grandson, Joseph Scull, son of Joseph and Susannah Blackman Scull, settled in Jeffers on or before 1870, where he purchased and operated a farm which faced on the Somers Point-May's Landing road. (See table 3, p. 86.)

While the Sculls, the Blackmans, the Leedses were located largely north and east of Mays Landing, the Steelmans had spread about Atlantic and Cape May counties. Adjoining the Steelman plantations on the South River, and located between the two plantations was the Estel plantation, which shared with the Steelmans a common bound-


STEELMAN SMITH
Priv. in Capt. Thos. Wescoat's Co.
of Inft. (Gloucester Co.)
Lieut. Col. Joshua E. Howell's Regt.
N.J. Detailed Militia
DIED 1828
A SOLDIER OF THE
WAR OF 1812

In the adjoining cemetery will be found the gravestones of such Colonial families as the Higbees, Holdzkums, Leedses, and Smiths, among others.

ary, which was Stephens Creek. The Estel family traced its lineage possibly to France, where many nobles as well as commoners had abjured the Roman faith and had affirmed the teachings of the Reformed church, known in France as the Huguenot church. Over the years, the Huguenots suffered continuing and extreme persecution and many fled France, seeking haven in England and elsewhere. The persecution in France reached its most savage point when the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day began and ended, August 23-24, 1572, with the massacre of 50,000 Huguenots. Pope Gregory VIII issued a specially struck medal to commemorate this "glorious event."[8] The Estels fled France and settled in England, more specificially, in Langdale County.

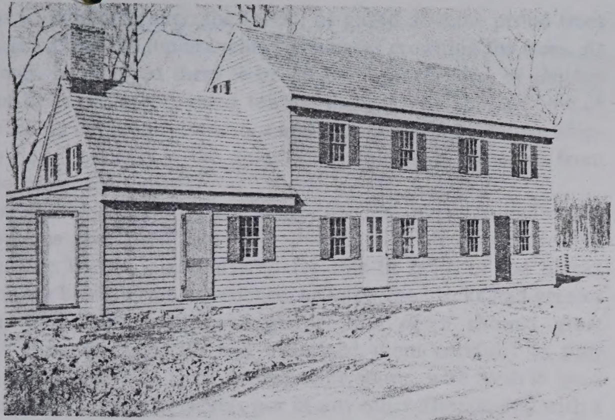
Daniel Estel may have resided for a short time at Gravesend, Long Island, since records indicate he married Margaret Bruening in that city. In 1671 the East Jersey proprietors granted him 271 acres, and he established himself on these acres at Middletown. He died intestate on December 15, 1685, and the estate descended to his son, Daniel, Jr., in accordance with primogeniture, who attained age twenty-one on March 21, 1688. At the Middletown estate, the family engaged in cattle raising, and their cattle earmarks, duly registered, were a hole through the right ear with a small piece cut out of the outside of the same ear and with a "slitt" on the outside of the left "eare". Daniel was followed to America almost immediately by his brother, John who purchased lands in West Jersey. His deeds were dated October 28, 1677. John Estel,[9] grandson of the above-named John Estel, inherited the lands of John of Langdale County. Born July 5, 1780, John took great interest in the management of the real estate amassed by his father and which lay in Weymouth Township, Atlantic County. Married to Martha Knowles, he had a son, Daniel, who married Maria Inglis West, and secondly, Rebecca Smith. Daniel and Rebecca Smith Estel had one daughter, Anna Marie, born April 6, 1856. She died November 1st, 1914.

John Estel, grandson of John of Langdale County, inherited the Weymouth realty under the law of primogeniture. He did have a sister, Anne, who married John Champion on August 9, 1792. Champion died suddenly on October 11, 1793. On September 15, 1795, the young widow, Anne Estel Champion, married Hezekiah Steelman, son of Jonathan and Hannah Corson Steelman. Hezekiah Steelman was a widower. He had married Caty Grant, by a license

Daniel E. Estel built this mansion for his bride, Maria Inglis West, and furnished it luxuriantly. The couple was married in the Methodist church in September 1831.

granted by Governor William Livingston for which Hezekiah posted a bond to the amount of 500 pounds, roughly $2,500 in American money. The marriage occurred April 8, 1785.

The Peter Steelman plantation, one side of which was Stephens Creek, looked across the creek to the Estel estate. Both places faced the present Route 50, then a stagecoach road, and was located in what is known today as Estelville. The Stephens Creek was dammed, and the impounded waters formed a lake. The dam powered both a gristmill and a sawmill. At the March term of the court of common pleas in 1811 Peter Steelman applied for a license to allow him to operate a tavern. The tavern met a real need. A bridge had been constructed over the Great Egg Harbor River, thus enabling travelers to go from Cape May north and northwest more conveniently, rather than being obliged to cross at Beasley's Point to Somers Point and thence to Mays Landing by the road built much earlier by James Steelman. The new



On the opposite side of Stephens Creek, the Steelman plantation prospered. Peter Steelman opened a tavern in 1811 on the stagecoach road, now Route 50. The inn acquired a fine reputation. It has been restored and moved to the Smithville Colonial Village.

route became a stage road, and the distance from Cape May necessitated stage stops. The road was much traveled. Aetna Furnace came into blast, drawing workers to this area and causing an increased movement of drays. Walker's Forge, which was but a short distance away, came into blast in 1816. As these two industries were dying, John and Daniel Estel engaged a Burlingtonian, John Hancock Scott, to build the glassworks. Scott was a contractor and railroad builder. His father was one of ten London Commissioners who secured from the Crown title to 10,000 acres in Burlington County. Brought into Tuckahoe to build the glassworks, he became acquainted with, courted, and married Mary Pennington, daughter of John Pennington. The glassworks were built in 1834 and closed down in 1836.

John Scott married into one of West Jersey's distinguished Colonial families, the Penningtons. The first Pennington was Nathan, who lived in Newark, New Jersey, and served in the Continental army during the American Revolution. Captured with a number of other Continental soldiers, he was sent to Quebec and imprisoned. Facing starvation, Pennington managed to escape with his comrades. Standing on the shoulders of one atop another, they reached the top of the wall and then, using bedsheets as ropes, lowered themselves to the ground and to freedom. After the war, Pennington established himself as a boat builder at Chestnut Neck. He married Margaret Wescott, daughter of Colonel Richard Wescott of Mays Landing. The couple moved to Mays Landing, where Nathan established a boat building business at what is known today as Pennington Point. Nathan died in 1810.

His son John had a varied career as a sea captain, shipowner, and Atlantic County sheriff. John had ten children; Mary Scott, noted above; Ann Endicott whose son is Judge Allen B. Endicott; Catherine Pennington, Isabelle Corson, Hannah Howell, Mary Izard, Elizabeth Rundall, Dr. George E. Endicott, Charles G. Endicott and Rear Admiral Mordecai T. Endicott, and Hester Thompson, daughter of John Pennington who married Judge Joseph Thompson. Other sons of John were Captain Lewis W. Pennington who served under Admiral Farragut in the Civil War and Captain John Pennington who was seriously wounded in the Civil War. Nathan Pennington's daughter married Lewis Walker, whose grandson John headed the New Jersey State Institution for Deaf Mutes. A fifth daughter of Nathan married William Mattix. Nathan's brother was governor of New Jersey, being William S. Pennington, governor 1813 to 1815, and later associate justice of the New Jersey Supreme Court; and his son, William, nephew of Nathan, was a member of the United States Congress and governor of New Jersey 1837-1843. The Penningtons descended from Sir John Pennington of England, dubbed a knight by Henry VI. Later a second Sir John served as an admiral under King Charles I; but in the time of Charles II, was arrested and imprisoned in the Tower of London. From London came Ephraim Pennington, who was in New Haven in 1643, from which place the family removed to Dutch Farms, near Newark.

Like the other settlers moving late into the area, James Steelman entered onto his lands in 1695 with a strong sense of proprietary pride and a love of all he surveyed. The land which sloped gently to the rolling waters of the Great Egg Harbor would provide year-round pasturage for his cattle. The meadows were heavy with the lush growth of salt hay. In the swamp, great cedars grew, tall and straight, unbroken by limbs except at the top. The cedars grew so tall they appeared to lean against one another, forming great Gothic vaults overhead which shut out the sun and darkened the ground. Some-

times, as he moved through the forest, he gazed at these proud trees and imagined that the top branches were tiaras crowning the trees. At other times, he pictured them to be arrows, spearheaded by the top clump of branches and pointed toward the heavens above. Some of these he would cut for his buildings and others would be cut for shipment to New York. From the uplands he would cut the pines from which to make clapboards.

Picture the scene as a typical landowner like James attended the fair, where he purchased four male and four female slaves. He had eschewed the West Indians offered for sale in favor of the blacks placed on the block. From experience, he knew the blacks had greater stamina, were more readily adaptable, and often showed great initiative and creativity. He had examined them carefully as they stood nude on the block. Each needed to be young, with teeth in good condition, with no sign of rickets nor of any other disease, and with a strong-looking frame. The eight slaves cost him the equivalent of four hundred dollars. In an economy wherein little money changed hands, this constituted a substantial investment. Four indentured servants were obtained, also. As with the slaves, the indentured servants were given room and board and the common amenities of life to the degree approved by the individual plantation owner. There was no established code or law under which an indentured servant or slave could obtain any degree of justice or protection. While the indentured servant had a higher social status than the slave, each was dependent upon the humanity and whims of the plantation owner. Many, if not most, of the owners were considerate, within the mores of the time, of both the servant and the slave, possibly not so much out of compassion for a fellow being as out of a basic recognition that from healthy and reasonably contented workers a greater degree of productivity would be had. The sale of indentured servants was a highly profitable field, and many a European was shanghaied and brought to the New World much against his will. The indentured servant had one advantage over the slave: he had a defined term of service with a set agreement as to any payment due upon completion of tenure. A typical notice appears in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, November 6, 1729: "Choice maid servants for sale. Fit for town and country business."

Even prior to the American Revolution, when slavery in New Jersey had already begun to wane, some slaves were held in subjection by cruel and barbarous treatment under laws whose enactment had been brought about by various slaveowners, many of whom feared the potential violence which might occur were the slaves to organize and react against their masters. To such owners, the slaves were a continuing threat to the safety and welfare of the whites. As early as 1682, East Jersey had adopted a law forbidding trade with the Negro or Indian slaves, on the assumption that such trade would encourage the slaves to steal from their masters. In 1694, a newly enacted law forbade a slave to wander away from home without the expressed consent of the master. The law went even further. It forbade the slave to hunt except when accompanied by a white man. In 1704, a law was enacted which provided that any slave who committed arson or murder or who had carnal knowledge of a white woman could be burned alive or castrated. The statute legalized what had been an accepted modus operandi. Revised in 1713, the law did not specifically mention castration but did authorize execution "in such manner as the court should think fit."[10]

Instances of slaves running away from their masters were many, and newspapers carried advertisements offering rewards for the capture and return of runaways. Frequently, slaves were accused of malingering, being slothful and dilatory in their assigned work. Charges of theft against the slaves were made often. Occasionally, a barn, corncrib, or silo burned and the fire was charged to recalcitrant and vengeful slaves. In extreme cases, a slave's extreme hostility was expressed by the slaying of a fellow slave.

Since the slave was perceived by his master as a piece of property, the loss of a slave through murder was an economic strike against the master, giving rise to a substantial cost for replacement to be paid by the master. Consequently, the master did, at times, resort to extreme measures to keep their slaves in line. Castration, beatings so administered to disfigure, maim, or even kill, and even ghastly ways of killing the slaves were practiced. Where such punishment was to be meted to a slave, neighboring masters would transport their own slaves to the scene under the belief that in viewing such horror, they would be constrained to obey the master.

In 1804, the state of New Jersey, through its legislature, acted to eliminate slavery. Such elimination was to occur over a period of years and in such a manner as to prevent social or economic disruption. The law provided that children born to slaves were to be considered free as of the date of the law's adoption. The legislators hoped that such

children would grow up and become independent, self-supporting citizens. To further this purpose, the law provided that the landowner was responsible for the support of such children, but that if such support became too much of a financial burden, the owner could appeal to the state. With such an appeal, the children became wards of the state. Since there were no institutions established for the care of such children, the state paid the master stated sums annually for the support of the children, and such payments were quite generous.

With the breakup of the large landholdings which arose, largely from death, and the subsequent division of the lands among the male heirs, slavery in West Jersey waned. Many masters manumitted their slaves.[11] At one time, East Jersey had 3,182 slaves, while West Jersey had 1,424 slaves. By 1772, no Negro nor Indian slaves were held in West Jersey; East Jersey had 3,312 slaves.

James and the other landowners, of course, had no idea when they began to build their plantations on the Patconck Creek, that a young, healthy slave would sell in the early 1800s for $1,500 each, nor that this form of trade would become not only illegal but uneconomic. Neither did James have any clue to the future of the Indians. He, his father, Hans, and his brother, Charles, had experienced no difficulty with any of the Indians. Every effort had been made to maintain good social relations while treating each one equitably and fairly in all dealings. There had always been an under-the-surface tension among the Swedes in their relations with the Indians due to the inability to, or refusal to, understand the finality of a land sale. The Indians sold a piece of land only after much bickering; but once the deal was made, the Indian appeared to believe he had only sold the right to hunt and live on the land. The concept of title to a piece of land belonging to an individual appeared entirely beyond his comprehension. At Fort Christina, the Swedes had found it necessary to give the Indians presents each year in order to maintain their friendship. But the uneasiness persisted, and the Indians came to pointedly expressing their complaints. The unrest came to a head in 1678, when a number of Indians contracted smallpox. Agitators among the Indians claimed that such disease was unknown to the Indians, that it was a white man's disease, and that the Indians had been infected from coats they had purchased from the whites. This dispute was settled at a conference in Burlington, called to reestablish amiable relations between the two groups. The Indians asserted that the white man provided the Indian with too much liquor before making a deal with the Indians, with the result that the Indian was too befuddled to protect his own rights. In other words, the Indians were being cheated and robbed. Further, it was their emotional argument that the white man had given the Indians the smallpox. This latter matter was ended when a chieftain reminded them that smallpox had been experienced long before the coming of the white man. The conference ended with mutual expressions of friendship and respect; yet the disgruntlement of the Indians continued, albeit under the surface. In a similar meeting at Crosswicks in 1758, November 21 to 24, Teedyescunk, king of the Delawares, claimed all lands from the mouth of the Great Egg Harbor River except Tuckahoe, and the Somers, Steelman, and Scull plantations.

Two Presbyterian ministers, John and David Brainerd, keenly aware of the subsurface discontent, sought to bring about an equitable settlement between the two groups with the result that the New Jersey legislature agreed to pay the Indians the sum of $1,600 for all their land rights within the state. With the agreement of the Indians, one-half of the money was paid in cash to the Indian representatives, while the balance was withheld for the purpose of buying a tract of land to be reserved entirely for the use of the Indians. In fulfillment of the treaty, the state purchased some 3,000 acres of forest and streams lying south of the Raritan River and running east to Barnegat Bay. This tract was known as Edge Pollock's, later called Brotherton, and finally, Indian Mills. Everyone hoped this minority problem was settled, settled fairly, and not to recur again; but, like other minority problems, it recurred. In 1801, the Indians were invited to join the Mohicans in New York State. The invitation was accepted; the Indians sold their land and invested the proceeds in United States bonds. The move to New York proved to be no panacea, for the Lenni-Lenapes became impoverished. In 1832, their representatives appealed to the New Jersey legislature for funds, asserting that the sale of the lands comprising the Brotherton tract did not include the fish and game rights. The legislature settled this claim generously by paying the Lenni-Lenapes an additional $2,000.

While these events were moving toward their final conclusion, James was building his new plantation. From his experience with his father, Hans, at Aronomink, and later at Tacony, James knew that much hard labor, many long hours of work per day, and in fact many

years would be required to bring his plans to fruition. His experiences in building, planting and supervising had prepared him for this, his great opportunity, and gave him a self-confidence and self-assurance that success would be his. He had arranged with drovers to walk his herd of cattle to his new ranch, and Captain James Clark would carry his crated geese and ducks, hogs, and equipment down from the Tacony plantation aboard his ship and land his shipment at James's place. The raising of a house and the necessary barns would follow in due course of time. The house would be the first major project. James knew that it was his primary task to make the plans for his home, fell the trees, and cut the lumber needed. Once these basic tasks were completed, the men of his family and any neighbors would help him raise the house. The house-raising went swiftly. The men did come, with their families, laden with foods cooked according to the recipes of the particular woman. When served, the men, women, and children would eat hearty lunches. While the framing of the house was under way, the women socialized and the children played, fought, screamed, made up, and played.

During the spring of 1696, James ~~CLARK~~ STEELMAN noted the great coveys of ducks and geese wheeling about overhead, the muskrat homes at the edge of the swamp, the tracks of deer and shy May pinks hiding their tiny white-and-pink sweet-scented flowers under the damp oak leaves. Occasionally he had come upon some whippoorwill's-shoes raising their delicately veined pink bloom to the heavens. At the swamp's edge he saw cranberry bushes growing in great clumps, promising a good harvest when frost came in the fall. Here grew, too, tall bushes which would bear rich purple clumps of swamp huckleberries, while on the upland, the lower-growing, stocky plant of upland huckleberries were greening. In the trees roosted the stupid turkeys, breeding prolifically while awaiting the hunter. Pheasant, grouse, rabbit, and deer were plentiful. Gray squirrels leaped and raced about, and the tracks of wolves, red fox and panthers were to be seen. Along the river, raccoon, muskrat, and beaver were in evidence. One crop, not available at Aronomink or at Tacony were the clams and oysters. Gathered by raking, digging, or picking, they could when gathered be barreled for shipment, constituting a ready cash crop. For future use on the plantation, the clams could be dried, while the oysters could be stored in the cellar and kept fat by sprinkling them in brine and cornmeal. In 1696, James Steelman was appointed New Jersey's first inspector of oysters.

As the operation of the plantation became a productive enterprise, the routine was entirely similar to that on the other plantations. In a generation, little had changed. By the onset of the winter, James's house would need some fifty cords of wood cut to fit the fireplaces. In the fall, too, at least twenty-five hogs would be butchered. From them came the bacon, sugar-cured smoked hams and the pork sides salted down in vats. Cattle were killed, the rounds dried, and the rest cornered. Mincemeat and sausage was made.

The larger the number of livestock, the greater the number of cattle to be driven to market, the greater the number of barrels of meat to be shipped, and the greater the annual profits. With the passage of time, orchards of apple, pear, and cherry trees would be developed. Grapevines would be planted. Cider, apple butter, jellies, jams, brandies, and wines would be made. Apples, grapes, huckleberries, and plums would be dried in the sun for future use in pies and dumplings. Apples would be stored in the cellars along with potatoes. The salt hay would be mown. From the beach plums picked from the native bushes jellies would be made.

Many of these were duties falling upon the women. The speed with which a widow or widower sought to acquire a new mate is indicative of the close interdependence which existed between the two sexes. While the men followed their seasonal tasks, James's wife, Susannah, supervised the women in their never-ending tasks. In addition to the accepted household chores, the need to do the family laundry using the rough board, boiling the clothes, and finally pressing them with the heavy irons heated in the fireplace; the mending of clothes, the knitting of hose; the baking of pies, breads, and tarts sufficient to feed the large retinue of workers; and the everlasting chores of washing, carding, combing, spinning, and weaving the wool and flax, followed by sewing the materials into clothes and household items, the women were expected to plant and reap the gardens about the house, from which came household vegetables and herbs.

Susannah was expected to be prepared to entertain any guests who might drop in. Such guests, if nearby folks, might call in the evening or on Sunday; but others might ride up and stay for an indefinite period. But whether guests were making a social call, passing through, or spending several days, the household was ever ready to accomodate itself to such incursions. Such visitors might be itinerants—a tailor who would spend such time as an order of the household member might require to complete, a cabinet maker who would remain in

similar circumstances, or a clergyman. Each had to be made welcome and provided with sleeping quarters. Such callers did more than provide an expertise in their respective fields; they brought news from other places and often amusing, if not scandalous, accounts of families they had served during their various sojourns.

The arrival of the Swedish pastor enlivened the entire plantation. By reason of his distinguished status, he received unusually cordial and gracious attentions. Generally, he arrived accompanied by a retinue of fellow Swedes, all of whom were to be housed for as long as the visit lasted. With the arrival of the pastor, riders were sent out to advise neighbors of his arrival and the plans for religious services. That such expeditions by the clergy did occur is evidenced in the journal kept by the Reverend Andreas Sandel, Pastor of Gloria Dei, Philadelphia, in which he noted that on September 27, 1704, he went to "a place called Egg Harbor, as some Swedes lived there. In crossing the river I met Elias Tay's wife and accompanied her home. September 28th: In the morning Matz and Eric Keen came to Tay's to accompany me on a part of my journey and when they learned . . . I did not know the way to Little Egg Harbor, a messenger was sent in the night to Mollicka,[12] over the river . . . and requested them to stop for us. About noon they arrived and our party consisted of Matz Keen, Eric Keen, Elias Tay, Carl Stellman,[13] Olaf Mollicka, Lars Kock, and an Englishman named Abraham Finnie. Towards evening, the horses of the party became tired but still we ventured on further and at sunset reached Little Egg Harbor. September 29: I preached a short sermon for those living there, viz. Mollicka's mother, a widow, her daughter, and two unmarried sons and a married son, And. Mollicka. We left . . . and went to Big Egg Harbor . . . We had to cross numerous inlets, there was no beaten track, there was plenty of brushwood, besides swarms of misquitoes that molested us . . . I was the guest of Jonas Steelman,[14] Elias Tay's brother-in-law; the others were Peter Steelman's. . . .[15]

With all these responsibilities, Susannah, as with all women who headed up a plantation, one additonal task was assumed, that of educating the children. While the boys learned the various tasks about the farm by demonstration and by doing, the girls learned the many tasks which would fall upon them when they entered the adult world. In addition, regular times had to be set aside for teaching the children to read, write, and cipher. All the children on the plantation were

gathered up for such classes. Many of the larger plantations engaged tutors, who lived with the family all year and for extended periods. When available, the smaller plantations engaged a tutor on a rotating basis; the tutor lived and taught for three months on one plantation and then moved to the next home, thus serving four plantations.

By the time of the Reverend Sandel's visit in 1704, the James Steelman plantation was thriving. James was using not only the services of drovers to drive his cattle to market in Philadelphia, but the facilities of Captain James Clark and of Captain John Stubbs to transport the produce of the plantation to market. Cedar was being taken from the swamp and shipped to New York, which had an almost insatiable demand for such wood, whether shipped as cut and trimmed logs or as shakes, posts, or clapboards. Captain Stubbs died in 1704, and his executor disclosed that shipping charges were due his estate from James Steelman of Absecon, John Scull, William Simpkins, Ephraim Carman, Samuel Foster, Peter Scull, John Somers of Somers Point, and Richard Jones of Maurice River. Stubbs docked at the piers of the various pantations along his route along the coast, around Cape May to Philadelphia, then the largest city in the New World. He was well aware that each plantation was a complex unit involving a number of people.

A plantation consisted of not only the home of the owner with the necessary barns, sties, corrals, springhouses and haymows, but of homes for slaves and farm help. Each plantation was a small settlement, owned, planned, and supervised by the owner. Through death, inheritance, or sale, the plantation became a series of farms. Despite the rigors of travel, these plantation owners visited one another for weekends or longer stays, socialized, cooperated and counseled one another on mutual problems. Consequently, any study of family trees in West Jersey indicates frequent intermarriages between such families. One result, noticeable until 1915, was that in any of these small communities, a substrata of people recognized one another as "cousins" without having but a tenuous concept of the basis for such relationship.

TABLE 3

FAMILIES LIVING IN OLD GLOUCESTER COUNTY DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Abbott
Adams
Albertson
Allen
Ballinger
Bartlett
Bateman
Bates
Batten
Biddle
Bilderback
Blackman
Bodine
Borton
Bowen
Budd
Burnet
Burroughs
Carle
Carney
Cattell
Cavilear
Chew
Clark
Clement
Coles
Collins
Conkling
Cooper
Corson
Craig
Cramer
Craven
Cresse
Dalbo
Darrell
Davenport
Davis
Doughty
Dubois
Dunlap
Dunn
Eastlack
Edwards
Ellis
Endicott
Falkinburg
Folwell
French
Gant
Gauntt
Garrison
Garwood
Gaskill
Gibson
Gifford
Haines
Hall
Hancock
Hand
Harris
Hedger
Headley
Helm
Hendrickson
Hillman
Hinchman
Holmes
Hopman
Horner
Howell
Hugg
Ireland
Jaquette
Jessup
Jones
Kaighn
Kirby
Leeds
Lippincott
Lord
Lummis
Marshall
Mathis
Mattson
Mayhew
Miller
Moffett
Morgan
Morris
Mott
Mulford
Newbold
Newkirk
Nixon
Ogden
Padgett
Parker
Paul
Peirce
Peirson
Pharo
Prickett
Randall
Reeves
Richman
Ridgway
Robertson
Robbins
Robinson
Rodgers
Rogers
Rose
Rumsay
Seaman
Seeley
Sharp
Sheppard
Shourds
Simkins
Sinnickson
Somers
Sparks
Spicer
Steelman
Steward
Stoneback
Stille
Sutton
Tatem
Taylor
Thacbara
Tomlinson
Townsend
Trenchard
Tyler
Van Meter
Vanneman
Van Sant
Wade
Wainwright
Walker
Ware
Ward
Whitehall
Whitaker
Webb
Wescott
Williams
Willets
Woods
Wright
Yorke
Zane

TABLE 4

THE JAMES AND SUSANNA TAY STEELMAN FAMILY

James amassed some 2500 acres of land, served as common pleas judge, 1704, 1705, 1709, 1723, 1727, 1731; highway overseer, 1696; New Jersey's first oyster inspector. After the death of *Susanna,* James married *Katherine Ouster,* by whom he had one son, known as *"Little Peter,"* born 1732. James died 1734. His children were:

Andrew, born 1690, died 1736; married Judith Alison. Willed 520 acres between South River and Stephens Creek to son, Frederick; to James, 450 acres on west side of Great Egg Harbor River; to Peter, 250 acres with homestead; to Andrew, 250 acres adjoining James Sommers; Andrew and Peter to share equally in the 130 acres at Seader (*sic*) Swamp Bridge; and all sons to share equally in the Absecon Beach and all cedar swamps (Calendar of Wills, 1732, p. 453). Widowed, Judith married Charles Dingee. John, a posthumous child, was not mentioned in the Will.

Susannah, born 1691, married John Keen (born 1695), son of Matthias and Henrietta Classen Keen.

Hance, who married Alice Jones in Trinity Church, Raccoon.

John, born Jan. 7, 1692; married first, N. S. Adams, and second, Mary Risley.

James, who married Katherine Keen; died, 1734; willed her a life estate in the realty, and provided plantations for Andrew and Hance; certain lands, marsh, and mill to John; 200 acres on Patconk Creek as well as the 200 acres purchased of James Adams and all swamps, beaches, and lands purchased of Peter Scull. He provided Elias with a plantation, and his daughters were given their shares (Calendar of Wills, Aug. 2, 1734, p. 453).

Elias, who married first, Sarah Lake of William Lake, Aug. 10, 1730, and second, Comfort Cruisey (Cresse). Widowed, Comfort married Peter Macklus (McClees) on Jan. 16, 1740. Elias died Dec. 16, 1736, intestate. Had one daughter, *Sarah.*

Mary, who married Dan Allen, Dec. 25, 1728, and then Andrew Blackman on July 25, 1733. Andrew and Mary had, Andrew, David, John, and Susannah, who married Edmund Mapes.

Andrew and *Judith Alison Steelman* had:

Andrew, born 1719; died Feb. 9, 1772; married Hannah Ingersoll.

Peter, born May 1, 1723; married Hannah Leeds.

James.

Frederick, who married Sarah, of James and Abigail Adams Somers, on Mar. 15, 1740.

Mary, born May 15, 1714; married Edmond Somers, and second, on March 6, 1746, married Joseph Mapes. She died March 21, 1797.

Judith, who married Joseph Collins, March 5, 1799.
Susannah, who married Benjamin Ingersoll, June 23, 1738.
John, born posthumously; married *Sarah* of Joost and E. Sooy by license, June 23, 1738; purchased lands on Gibson Creek of Return Babcock, July 17, 1762, adjoining stepbrother's lands (Christopher Dingee); established Gibson Creek Branch of Steelman Family. Had *Joseph, Luke, John, Jemima.*

John and *Susannah Steelman Keen* had:
James, who married Mary Ashton.
Mary, who married Toby Leach.
Susannah, who married, first, John Martin, and second, Edward Milner.
Matthias, born Dec. 21, 1721; married, first, Mary Swift, and second, Margaret Thomas.
John, born May 22, 1723; married Esther Foster.
Elias, born May 15, 1725; married Hannah Thomas.
Rebecca, who married first, Benjamin Engle and second, Jacob Hall.
Peter.
Jacob, who married Hannah Holmes.
George, who married Margaret Bristol.

"Little Peter" married Sarah. Intestate at his death, Sarah was named administratrix, Dec. 13, 1775. She may have then married a Doughty. Under law of primogeniture, Richard, the eldest, inherited the land; but in conformance to his father's known wishes, Richard divided the land between the sons, who were:
Richard.
Zephaniah who married Mary Parker, and had a son, Peter.
James.
Peter, who willed his estate to his mother, Sarah Doughty, for life, thence to his brother, Thomas.
Thomas.

John and *N. S. Adams Steelman* (A question exists here: Did John marry Sarah, daughter of Peter Peterson?) had:
John, who married Abigail Adams, Jan. 25, 1755. By his will, John left Abigail one-half of dwelling and personal assets; son John, one-third of upland, the plantation of son Jeremiah, plus three-quarters of the bay meadows, and one-third of the cedar swamps, as well as 25 acres on the north side of Ingersoll's Branch. Jonathan was given one-third of uplands and one-half of the meadows belonging to Jeremiah. Absalom and Daniel were treated similarly. Provisions were made for his daughters, Abagail Higbee, Hannah Conklin, Rosanna Smith and Mary Sooy. Will proved Dec. 12, 1796.
Zephaniah, who married Rebecca Ireland, of Edmund Ireland. He died 1790.
Jeremiah, who married Rebecca Risley.

Catherine.
Susannah, who married Daniel Leeds III, Jan. 1, 1751. He was son of Japhet Leeds.
Rebecca, who, on death of sister Susannah, married Daniel Leeds III; widowed, she married John Smith, son of Robert and Belanguy Smith.
Rachel, who married Higbee.
Esther, who married Richard Higbee.
Mary, who married Thomas Chamberlain (a moot assumption). She died after 1792.

John and *Mary Smith Steelman* had:
Elizabeth, born Dec. 16, 1720; married Joseph Sooy.
Jesse, born Oct. 13, 1722; died Oct. 15, 1802.
Noah, born Nov. 27, 1725; died Nov. 30, 1790.
James, born Feb. 2, 1730.
Felix, born Oct. 27, 1732.
John, born Dec. 21, 1735.

Hance Steelman, of James and Susannah, married *Alice Jones* and had:
James.
Hance.
John.
Daniel.
Charles.

James had:
John.
James.
Susannah.
Catherine, who married Covenhoven.
Rebecca, who married Somers.
MaryAnn, who married Somers.
Sarah, who married Joseph Covenhoven, Oct. 14, 1771, at the Swedesboro Trinity Church.

Hance, son of Hance and Alice, married Sarah and had sons, John, Andrews, and three daughters. Hance's will of Nov. 4, 1761, Greenwich Township, named his wife, Sarah, and three daughters married to Dan Sutherland, James Cade, and Isaac Layman, respectively. John was a minor son, born Dec. 3, 1751. Witnesses to the will were William Harrison, Charles Steelman, and Alexander Randall.

John Steelman, son of John and N. S. Adams Steelman, married *Abigail Somers* and lived on Absecon Creek, Galloway Township. Born 1748; died 1796. They had:
John Steelman (Major), born Mar. 2, 1757; married *Margaret Leeds,* of Nehemiah Leeds.
Daniel, born Apr. 25, 1765; married Katherine Read, of Obadiah Read.

Jonathan, born Dec. 9, 1763; married Sarah Cordery (born Sept. 9, 1765), and second, a widow, Hannah Hendrickson, on Jan. 8, 1803. He died 1822.
Ansalom, who married Sarah Sprong.
Hannah, who married Conklin.
Abigail, born July 17, 1756.
Mary, who married Nicholas Sooy. The daughter, Elizabeth, married Daniel Ross, Jan. 14, 1832.
Rebecca, who married Davis.

Absalom, of John and N. S. Steelman, married Sarah Sprong and had:
John, who married Susanna Scull of James and Susannah Scull.
Absalom, who married Deborah Corvode, Nov. 27, 1820.
Elizabeth, who married Arthur Westcoat of Thomas and Chloe Westcoat.
Charlotte, who married John Westcoat, brother of Arthur.

Jonathan, of John and N. S. Steelman, married *Sarah Cordery* Jan. 8, 1783 and had:
Jonathan, born Oct. 10, 1793; married *Catherine* (born Apr. 17, 1785) and had:
Mark
Reed
Elisha Ashton
William
Jonathan
Rachel
Charles
John Wesley
Phoebe
Katherine
Elizabeth, born Oct. 6, 1783.
Isaac, born May 6, 1785.
Joseph, born April 4, 1786.

Major John and *Margaret Leeds Steelman* had:
Nehemiah, born Sept. 3, 1780.
Zephaniah, born Sept. 30, 1785.
Julia Ann, born Sept. 9, 1788; married, first, Absalom Higbee, and second Carter.
Abigail, born April 1, 1791; married, first Higbee.
Jonas, born Sept. 1, 1793; married Ann McCullough, whose grandfather recast the famed Liberty Bell after it first cracked.
Leeds, born Sept. 21, 1796; married Abigail Risley, first, and second, Ann Steelman, widow of Reed Steelman.
Phannel, born Sept. 25, 1799; married Elizabeth Myers.

In this branch of the Steelman family, one of the first land purchases was made in 1695, consisting of 500 acres from Thomas Budd in the Revel Survey, Aug. 4, 1682.

Zephaniah, of John and Margaret Steelman, had:
John, born Sept. 8, 1825; married Ruth Wilson.
Rueben, who married Lavinia Houston.
Ann Margaret, who married Hardesty.
Margaret, who married Daniel Brown.

Jonas, of John and Margaret Steelman, had, by his second wife, *Ann*:
Mary, who married Henry Disston, inventor and industrialist. Both engaged in widespread philanthropy. The Disston Memorial Presbyterian Church, Tacony, was built and furnished as a memorial to their daughter, Mary, who died in her teens. Land in Tacony was given to the Presbyterian, Methodist, and Roman Catholic churches. Disston Hall of Beacon Presbyterian Church, Kensington, was given as a memorial for Albert Disston. This couple had: *Hamilton*, *Albert*, *Frank*, *Mary*, *Horace*, *William*, *Jacob*, and a daughter who died in infancy.
Julia Ann, who married Thomas Morse, of Joab and Mary Ann Morse.
Beulah, who married Small.
John.
Jacob.
James, who married Celia and had:
Sarah, who married McFadden.
Charles, who married Martha.
William, who married Rebecca Moffett, Oct. 23, 1834.
Samuel C.
Andrew.
Mary, who married Joseph Luck on Mar. 3, 1839.

Andrew, of Andrew and Judith Steelman, born 1719, died Feb. 9, 1772, married Hannah Ingersoll, June 6, 1747; farmed at Steelmanville, Atlantic County. He died intestate and his widow was named administratix on March 11, 1772. Inventory was made by Noah Smith and Joseph Edwards on Feb. 24, 1772. His children were:
James, the eldest, who inherited the realty under the law of primogeniture, born Mar. 27, 1748; married, first Temperance Sayre, and second, Susannah Smith.
Daniel, born Apr. 15, 1750; married Eleanor Edwards in 1773.
Frederick, born Mar. 21, 1753; married Naomi Edwards by license, Oct. 19, 1773. He died 1778.
Hannah.
Judith, who married Jeremiah Leeds, Aug. 26, 1763.
Christiana.

Peter, born July 9, 1754.

John, born Mar. 12, 1757.

Andrew, born Mar. 12, 1759, lived in Estelville until 1803, when he moved to Deptford Township. Died at Woodbury. Married either Hannah Weatherby or Priscilla Scull.

Nicodemus, born June 17, 1759. In his will, he named wife, Hannah, daughters Martha, Experience, and Mary, and two minor sons (Liber 38, New Jersey Archives, file 2267, p. 379).

Peter, son of Andrew and Judith Steelman, born May 1, 1723, died Nov. 9, 1762. Married *Hannah Leeds.* Widowed, Hannah married Samuel Scull. Children were:

Japhet, born Jan. 10, 1752; died in infancy.

Judith, born Sept. 20, 1754; died in infancy.

Isaac, born Jan. 5, 1756; married Mary Andrews.

Deborah, born Oct. 9, 1757; died young.

Susannah, born Apr. 12, 1762; married Christian Holdzkum; died Mar. 8, 1810.

Peter was a wealthy plantation owner and member of The Society of Friends. Will, dated Nov. 16, 1762, proved Dec. 10, 1762, named wife the sole executor.

Isaac, son of Peter and Hannah, married *Mary Andrews,* lived at Leedsville, and had:

Peter, born Dec. 28, 1779; married Rachel Steelman.

Jesse, born Sept. 21, 1781; died Nov. 3, 1842; married Rachel Leeds.

Hannah, born Aug. 25, 1783; married Esperus Tilton.

Sarah, born July 12, 1788; married, first, William Adams, and second, George or Thomas Smith.

Millicent, born Aug. 30, 1792; married, first, Isaac Ingersoll, and second, at 24, married Jeremiah Leeds, then 62 years old.

Isaac, born Mar. 5, 1792; married Margaret Leeds, of Richard and Sarah Leeds.

Isaac Steelman, of Isaac and Mary Steelman, married *Margaret Leeds* and had:

Richard L., born 1816; married *Hannah Robinson;* they had:

Margaret, 1843; married Abner Price in 1864; had *Webster, Richard S.,* and *Alice.*

Sara Etta, 1846; married George S. Winner.

Isaac, 1852; married Alice M. Smith, daughter of Constant Smith, and had *Ella,* 1879; *Cora,* 1882; *Constant,* 1887; *Wilbur,* 1888; *Frederick,* 1893; *Hannah,* 1895.

David L., 1802; married Rosetta English and had:

Dr. Jesse A.; Mary E.; Anna L.; Ella, who married H. S. Collins; *James E.,* who married Hattie Frambes; *Mary Ida; Dr. Philip,* who married Abbie Scull in 1877; *Sarah,* who married Thomas Smith.

Isaac, who died young.

Mary, born 1823; married Andrew Robinson; had:

Judith.

Abel

Margaret.

Sarah, born 1826.

Jesse, who married Rachel Leeds and had *Mary,* Sept. 7, 1807, who married Mark Reed and died Nov. 6, 1831.

Parmelia, Apr. 13, 1802; married Nathan Ramson of Long Island.

Judith Steelman, of Andrew and Judith Alison Steelman, married *Joseph Collins,* Mar. 5, 1799, and had:

John.

Daniel, who married Martha Dilks, Nov. 23, 1832.

Smith, who married Priscilla Peterson.

Steelman, who married Mary Haman.

Hannah, who married Somers Townsend.

Millicent, born June 19, 1809; married Daniel Hoffman; and died July 9, 1885.

Susannah, born 1798; married Samuel Hand, Nov. 12, 1826; died July 25, 1887.

Mary, of Andrew and Judith, married Edmond Somers, Jan. 8, 1730. Edmond was son of John Somers, born in 1640 in Dorchester, England (Muchmore, Book 1, p. 11, Rutgers Library). Mary and Edmond had: *Hannah, Judith* (born Feb. 16, 1738), *Mary,* and *Edmond.* Widowed, Mary married Joseph Mapes, May 6, 1746.

Frederick, of Andrew and Judith, born Mar. 21, 1752, was married by license to *Naomi Edwards.* In 1792, he was made justice of the county court. He died July 20, 1809. He inherited from his father the Stevens Creek plantation, which he traded with his brother, Andrew, for the homestead at Gravelly Run, Mays Landing. They had:

Joseph, who married Eliza Scull.

Experience, who married Frederick Steelman, son of James and Sophia Covenhoven.

Naomi, died Aug. 23, 1784, aged 6 mos. 20 days.

Judith, who married John Scull.

Sophia, who married David Smith.

Richard, died Aug. 6, 1792, aged 2 yrs. 14 days.

Submittee, died Sept. 8, 1795, aged 9 yrs. 7 mos. 9 days.

Peter, son of Daniel and Eleanor Steelman, born Apr. 29, 1776, died Nov. 5, 1860, married Sophia Smith in Dec. 1797. Sophia was born Apr. 11, 1777, died Apr. 20, 1860. They had:

Sarah, Sept. 18, 1790.

Eleanor, July 3, 1800.

Lydia, Jan. 1, 1802.

Smith, June 21, 1804.
Emily, June 4, 1806; died same day.
Henry Smalley, Oct. 2, 1807; died Nov. 6, 1874.
Peter, Aug. 10, 1810.
Sophia, Dec. 26, 1812, married Lewis Somers, and died Oct. 22, 1846.
Edward, Feb. 16, 1820.
Mary, born Oct. 3, 1817, married the widower, Lewis Somers.

Henry Smalley married first, Mary Steelman, and second, Anne Somers, daughter of Aaron Somers. Both interred at Steelman Cemetery, Estelville. Henry served as executor of Peter's estate, during which he conveyed to N. S. Steelman, Jr., in Weymouth Township, lands on Dec. 9, 1862; also paid $2,700 for swamp bought by Daniel Steelman of Christopher Rape on Feb. 22, 1786. This last land had a common boundary with Dan Estell while the land was also bounded by Uriah Camp on one side and by John Steelman on a third side. According to the 1860 census, 768-769, Henry Smalley Steelman's household consisted of *Henry,* 53; *Ann,* 57; *Henry* 21; *Harris S.,* 16; *Merrick* or *Horace,* 14; and *Mary Morris,* 17, who married William Thorp (Turp) of Mays Landing. Henry's grandson, Daniel S. Steelman was born at Estelville Oct. 30, 1866, son of Henry S. and Sarah H. Marshall Steelman.

Frederick Steelman married *Sarah Somers* on Mar. 15, 1740, and lived at Bakersville. Sarah was daughter of James and Abigail Adams Somers. Abigail Adams Somers was daughter of Jeremiah and Rebecca Adams, who, with the Higbees and Risleys, founded Hartford, Conn. They had:
Frederick, who married Sophia Risley. Her mother, Ann Risley, named Sophia Steelman in her will of Nov. 26, 1781, as her daughter along with Ann Leeds and Peter Risley (*New Jersey Archives,* Vol. XXXV, p. 328). Frederick died 1783.
James, who married Sarah Covenhoven, lived at Gravelly Run. Their son, Frederick, born Feb. 21, 1778, married Experience Steelman on Mar. 7, 1797. Experience was daughter of Frederick and Naomi Steelman. Experience, born May 19, 1775, died Oct. 13, 1861.
Andrew, slain on Long Beach Island during the American Revolution while doing guard duty, by Bacon's Tories.
Sarah, who married Henry Smith, Nov. 18, 1774, and had *James; Hannah,* who married John Risley; and *Rachel,* who married Richard Risley.
Mary, who married Daniel Leeds, Jan. 3, 1775. Daniel was the son of John and Sarah Mathis Leeds. A son, Jeremiah, born Mar. 4, 1754, died Oct. 1838, married Judith Steelman, and had: *James Leeds,* Feb. 26, 1777, died 1798; *Rhuhanna,* Jan. 21, 1779, married Joseph Covenhoven, and died Aug. 30, 1862; *Rachel,* Oct. 24, 1782, married Jesse Steelman, son of Isaac and Mary Andrews Steelman, and then married Mark Read, who was administrator of Jesse Steelman's estate.
Rachel, who married Peter Steelman, son of Isaac and Mary Andrews Steelman, with Judge Thomas Somers officiating on May 15, 1800.

Hannah, who married John Town.
Judith, who married Jeremiah Leeds, son of John, on Dec. 8, 1776. At her death, Jeremiah married a widow, Milesant Steelman Ingersoll, in 1816.
Abigail, who married ——— ——— and had a son, Elias.

Fredrick, son of James and Sophia Covenhoven Steelman, was born Feb. 21, 1778, married Experience Steelman, and had:
Edward, who died young.
Louisa.
Job, born Aug. 7, 1801; married Elizabeth McClain on Jan. 24, 1820, in Weymouth Township; died Dec. 6, 1848.
James E., born Oct. 6, 1803; married Esther Barrett; lived at Gravelly Run. In later years, lived with his son, *Hiram,* in Ocean City.
Reuben, born Apr. 5, 1806; died Feb. 14, 1847. His wife, Ellen, died Oct. 24, 1858, aged 48 yrs., 5 mos., 7 days. Buried at Catawba. Monuments erected by son, Oliver, vandalized.
Miriam, who married Jeremiah Barrett; lived at Gravelly Run; had son, *Japhet,* born June 22, 1850, and *Jeremiah,* born at Catawba.
Frederick, born May 8, 1813; died Oct. 29, 1814.
Hannah C.

Frederick Steelman, of Frederick and Sarah Somers Steelman, married *Sophia Risley.* He died 1783. They had:
Sarah, born 1778.
Leah, born 1782.
Enoch, born 1779.
Frederick, born 1780.

(See: *D.A.R. Lineage,* Vol. 105, p. 317; Vol. 114, p. 172; Vol. 25, p. 25)

Hiram Steelman, son of James E. and Esther Barrett Steelman, married *Jane Jackaway,* and had:
Ellwood Allen, a Lindwood city councilman.
Emma, who married Dr. Arthur Adams, Episcopal rector and professor at Trinity College, Hartford.
Martin, civil engineer and Rutgers University professor.
Hiram, attorney, Ocean City.
Harriet, who married Somers Hess. Their son, *Thomas Somers Hess* was a successful actor; and *William Lindon Hess* was a minister.

Rejoice Steelman, daughter of James and Sophia Covenhoven Steelman, granddaughter of Frederick and Sarah Somers Steelman, married William Treen. Rejoice, born Apr. 14, 1794, married Nov. 28, 1811, and died June 26, 1854. William Treen was the son of Capt. William Treen, who sailed two ships, the *Utility* and the *Fame,* during the Revolutionary War. Taken prisoner, Treen was confined on the British prison ship, *New Jersey.* By 1834, *George Treen,* son of William and Rejoice, was running the Treen tavern,

formerly the Steelman Tavern, at Gravelly Run. They had:

Anna G., born July 26, 18——; died Feb. 11, 1864; married John C. Abbott.

Emaline, born Jan. 4, 1820; died Nov. 11, 1880; married William Williams.

John R., born Mar. 3, 1816; died Nov. 4, 1816.

John R., born Dec. 12, 1817; died July 30, 1863.

Benjamin, born Dec. 10, 1824; died Jan. 29, 1894; married Eunice Penn.

Reuben, born Nov. 9, 1827; died Nov. 6, 1878.

Margaretta, born Oct. 24, 1831; died May 27, 1856; married Samuel Pennington.

Joseph, who married Josephine Steelman, daughter of Elisha Steelman.

Emiline, who married Robert B. Glover.

Sophia Somers, who married Hugh Holbrun, and second, James Hague.

James, born Nov. 13, 1813; died Dec. 24, 1847.

William, born Sept. 3, 1824; died Mar. 3, 1853.

(TDY)

John Keen, of Susannah Steelman and John Keen, married Rebecca Somers, and died intestate on Jan. 1, 1818. They had:

Francis, born Apr. 15, 1779; married Deborah Bolton and had a son, *William*, Sept. 19, 1826-Sept. 13, 1875.

Amelia, born June 20, 1826; died Sept. 13, 1875.

Mary.

Rebecca, who married Richard Chamberlain.

Aaron, who married Sarah C. Bartlett.

John, who married Sophia Smallwood, Jan. 21, 1854.

Samuel S., born Oct. 7, 1822.

Charles E., born April 13, 1820.

Frederick, son of Andrew and Judith Alison Steelman, married *Sarah Somers*, daughter of James and Abigail Adams Somers, on March 15, 1740. *The Cape May County Magazine of History and Genealogy*, Vols. IV and V, p. 114, reports the Bible record of *John* and *Elizabeth Adams*, showing the following children:

John, born June 17, 1664.

Elizabeth, born Dec. 6, 1665.

Sarah, born Feb. 24, 1668.

James, born Aug. 4, 1671.

Susannah, born Sept. 9, 1674.

Hannah, born Dec. 15, 1675.

Deborah, born Mar. 7, 1678.

John, born July 10, 1680.

Abigail, born Nov. 12, 1682; married James Somers and had a daughter, *Judith*, who married Capt. Swain.

Thomas, born Nov. 12, 1684.

Marssey, born Oct. 12, 1686.

Phoebe, born Dec. 9, 1690.

TABLE 5

EARLY LAND PURCHASES OF AND BY THE STEELMAN FAMILY*

Buyer	Location	Seller
James	Patconck Creek, 500 acres	Thomas Budd
	Patconck Creek to bay, 250 acres	James Adams
Peter	Gravelly Run, 150 acres	Thomas Budd
	Gravelly Run, 50 acres	Eric Steelman
Frederick	Stephens Creek, 450 acres	Thomas Budd
	100 acres	Sam Ward
James	West side of the Great Egg Harbor River, 450 acres	Thomas Budd
John	Galloway Township, 600 acres	Thomas Budd
John	Absecon Creek, 400 acres, Oct. 8, 1723	
John	Galloway Township, 500 acres, Aug. 4, 1682	Thomas Budd
Peter	Gravelly Run on Great Egg Harbor River, 450 acres	Judith Allen James Adams Peter Scull
Charles	Gravelly Run, 1650 acres	Edmund Iliff
John	Woolwich Township, 160 acres	
Andrew	Absecon Beach, 200 acres, Oct. 10, 1711	Jacob Clement
	Absecon Beach, 256 acres, 1714	Thomas Budd
	Absecon Beach, 200 acres, May 7, 1715	James Steelman
	Stephens Creek, 320 acres, Sept. 29, 1723	John Budd
James	Plantation, Somers Point	Son of James
Eric	Gravelly Run, 50 acres	Thomas Budd
	Greenwich Township, 300 acres, July 9, 1715	Justa Lock

* In the various Steelman wills no evidence exists to indicate any entailment of the real estate. Lands were divided among the sons. By law, in New Jersey, any provision in a will entailing realty more than 21 years after the death of an heir was null and void. The legend that the extensive Steelman land holdings could not be sold until the 7th generation by explicit conditions set forth in the wills was without basis in fact and without force in law.

Notes

1. Israel Acrilius, *A History of New Sweden* (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1874), p. 356.

2. Thomas Budd, *Budd's Account of Good Order in Pennsylvania and New Jersey* (1685; reprint ed., New York: William Gowans, 1865), pp. 10-11.

3. *New Jersey Archives* (Trenton), 21: 460.

4. Ibid., p. 70.

5. Ibid., p. 670.

6. A. L. English, *History of Atlantic City, New Jersey* (Philadelphia: Dickson & Gilling, 1884), p. 26.

7. Nicholas Scull was one of original members of Ben Franklin's junto.

8. Crane Brinton et al., *A History of Civilization,* 2d ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1956), 1: 547.

9. *American Genealogist* 1 (November-December 1899): 30-31, 269-270.

10. *New Jersey in the American Revolution: Political and Social Conflict* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Annual Symposium, Historical Society of New Jersey, Rutgers University, December 6, 1969), p. 43.

11. Harold F. Wilson et al., *Outline of the History of New Jersey* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1950), p. 27.

12. Mollicka, i.e., Mullica.

13. Carl Stellman, i.e., Charles Steelman.

14. Jonas, i.e., James.

15. Arthur Adams, "Hans Mansson, Ancestor of the Steelman Family," *New York Genealogical and Biographical Review* 79, no. 3 (July 1948): pp. 113-120.

V

West Jersey Life

WHILE AND DURING THE CONTINUING MOVEMENT of people at the end of the seventeenth century to or towards the Jersey shore, Hans Mansson died. Seventy-eight, he had grown old; yet he had never allowed himself to bow to the years. Erect and square-shouldered, he had thinned down considerably, allowing his large-boned structure to show. White-haired, vividly blue-eyed, and toothless, he had busied himself with minor chores about the plantation for the past seven or eight years. Charles was, in effect if not in law, the owner upon whom the burdens arising from the property and its operations fell. Suddenly complaining of pains in his chest and extreme shortness of breath, Hans was put to bed. He had had similar attacks before, and Ella charged them to something he ate. In the early morning hours of May 10, 1694, this man, exiled from his native land, died, a wealthy and highly respected member of the Swedish community. Riders were sent out posthaste to inform the family and friends of the sad occurrence. A coffin was quickly built and a grave dug, for with the warm weather, burial could not be delayed.

The house was open to all who cared to come, and many came. The servants prepared edibles and drinks for the expected guests. The bier was placed in the large parlor, and the family sat near it. The women dressed in black. The men wore large, flapped hats, which were bound with flowing crepes; and on their hands they wore black gloves. Guests entered, viewed the corpse and took seats. The Swedish Lutheran funeral service was read. Immediately prior to the closing of

West Jersey

under 4 Flags

by Ralph K. Turp